The Birth of the Russian Democracy

A. J. SACK

Director of the Russian Information Bureau
in the United States

Russian Information Bureau
Woolworth Building
New York City

CONTENTS

Part I

The History of the Revolutionary Movement in Russia

CHAPTER I

The Decembrists—The First Russian Revolutionists.....19

The founding of the first Russian revolutionary organizations after the Napoleonic War—Pavel Pestel—"Union of Salvation"—Its aim—Mikhail Muraviov—"Union of Welfare"—Its aims—Mutiny in the Semionovsky Regiment in 1820—"Society of United Slavs"—The "Northern Society"—Its Constitution—The "Southern Society's" Constitution—The uprising of December 14, 1825—The trial of the Decembrists—Executions and prison sentences—The findings of the Investigating Committee.

CHAPTER II

The Revolutionary Movement during the Reign of Nicholas I and the First Part of the Reign of Alexander II.....28

Student-circles in the University of Moscow—Hertzen's Circle—Stankevitch's Circle—The "educational" policy of Nicholas I—The effect of the French Revolution of 1848 on the Russian "intelligentsia"—Bielinsky, the "Annals of the Fatherland" and the "Contemporary" — The Buturlin Committee — Censorship measures — The Petrashevsky Circle and F. M. Dostoievsky—The War with Turkey in 1853—Spreading of revolutionary sentiment among the conservative elements and the masses—Death of Nicholas I.

The beginning of the reign of Alexander II—The reform movement—Alexander Hertzen and his "Bell"—The emancipation of the serfs in 1861—Disturbances among the peasantry—The movement in the University of Kazan—The movement among the nobility of the Province of Tver—Peter Kropotkin's characterization of Alexander II—The movement in commercial and industrial circles—Growth of revolutionary spirit among "intelligentsia"—Chernyshevsky's arrest—Karakozov's attempt on life of Alexander II—Governmental repressions—Count Dmitri Tolstoy and his educational policy—Repressions against the press.

CHAPTER III

The Revolutionary and Liberal Movement during the Latter Part of the Reign of Alexander II.....41

The Narodnichestvo—Disturbances in the Universities—M. A. Bakunin—Circle of Tchaykovsky—Kropotkin on the Tchaykovsky Circle—The revolutionary center in Zurich—P. L. Lavrov and M. A. Bakunin—The movement "V narod" (To the people)—The society "Land and Freedom"—The demonstration before the Kazan Cathedral in December, 1876—Plekhanov's speech—War with Turkey—The inefficiency of the bureaucracy—Governmental persecutions and terror—Revolutionary terror—Vera Zasulich—Assassination of Gen. Mezentzov—Assassination of Prince Dmitri Kropotkin—The Zemstvo movement—I. I. Petrunkevitch's speech in the Chernigov Zemstvo—Split in the "Land and Freedom"—Congress at Lipetsk—Congress at Voronezh—New Parties: "Black Repartition" and "Will of the People"—Formation of the "Executive Committee"—Attempts on the life of Alexander II—Dictatorship of Loris-Melikoff—Assassination of Alexander II.

CHAPTER IV

H. A. Lopatin—A typical Russian Revolutionist of the Sixties.....61

Lopatin's college days—His debut as a revolutionist—Arrest and exile—Second arrest—Trial—Escape—His life in Switzerland—His return to Russia—Trip to Siberia in search of Chernyshevsky—His arrest—His sudden escape—His life in Zurich—His arrest upon return to Russia—His escape from the Vologda prison—The assassination of Soudeykin — Lopatin's arrest — The trial — Imprisonment in the Schlüsselburg fortress—His liberation in 1905.

CHAPTER V

The Reaction during the Reign of Alexander III.....69

The conference of March 4, 1881—Pobiedonostzev's speech and victory—Manifesto of April 29, 1881—Change of Ministry—Decided reactionary course—Degaiev's treachery—Arrest of the remnant of the "Will of the People"—Annihilation of previous judiciary reforms—Religious and race persecutions—Measures against non-orthodox sects—Measures against Poles and Jews—Measures against the press.

CHAPTER VI

The Revolutionary and Liberal Movement during the Early Years of the Reign of Nicholas II.....75

Revived hope in liberal circles—Zemstvos' delegations—Address of the Tver Zemstvo—Tzar's answer to the "senseless dreams"—Disappointment among the liberals—The open letter from the revolutionists abroad—Pobiedonostzev's and Von Plehve's policy—Founding of the Union of Liberation—The excommunication of Leo Tolstoy—Persecutions of Jews—Pogroms—Measures against the Georgians and Armenians—Confiscation of Armenian Church-lands and Church-funds.

Development of capitalism in Russia—Growth of city proletariat—Group for the Emancipation of Labor—Russian Social-Democratic Workingmen's Party—Witte's policy towards labor—The strike in Odessa—The Party of Socialists-Revolutionists—Its Fighting Organization.

CHAPTER VII

The Activities of the Fighting Organization of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists 81

Assassination of the Minister of Education, Bogolepev—Peter Karpovich—Assassination of the Minister of Interior, Sypiagin—Stepan Balmashev—His execution—Assassination of the Governor of Ufa, Bogdanovich—Grigory Gershuni—Story of his life—His trial—His escape from Siberia—Assassination of the Minister of Interior, Von Plehve—E. Sazonov.

CHAPTER VIII

The Beginning of the Revolution of 1905—Bloody Sunday .. 94

War with Japan—Assassination of Von Plehve—Prince Sviatopolk-Mirsky—Congress of Zemstvos—Pobiedonostzev's influence—New tide of reaction—Bloody Sunday—Gapon's letters to the Minister of Interior and to the Tzar—The demands of the workingmen—Shooting on the people—Gapon's new letter to the Tzar and appeal to the Russian Socialist Parties.

CHAPTER IX

The Rising Tide of Revolution 106

Spread of disturbances and strikes throughout the country—Martial law in Poland, the Caucasus and over all railroads—Assassination of Grand Duke Serghei Alexandrovich—Ivan Kaliaiev—The activities of the Social-Democrats and Socialists-Revolutionists—The Peasants' Movement—The activities of the Liberals—Congress of Zemstvos in Moscow—Deputation to the Tzar—Prince Trubetskoy's speech—The Tzar's answer—The spread of Revolution—Mutiny on the Battleship Potiomkin.

CHAPTER X

On the Crest of the Revolution of 1905 114

The Manifesto of August 3rd—Second Congress of Zemstvos—October, 1905—First General Political Strike—Manifesto of October 17th—Massacres of Jews and "intelligentsia"—The organization of the Council of Workmen's Delegates in St. Petersburg—Mutiny in Kronstadt—The movement for autonomy in Poland—Second General Political Strike—Third Congress of Zemstvos—Split among the Liberals—Organization of the Party of Octobrists—The weakening of the Revolution—Arrest of the President of the Council of Workmen's Delegates—Arrest of the Central Committee of the Peasants' Union—Martial law in St. Petersburg—Arrest of the Council of Workmen's Delegates—The Third General Political Strike—The coming reaction.

CHAPTER XI

Zinaida Konopliannikova and Maria Spiridonova.....124

The armed uprising in Moscow in December, 1905—Punitive expeditions—Assassination of General Mien—Zinaida Konopliannikova—Story of her life—Her speech at the trial—Her execution—Maria Spiridonova—The shooting of Lujenovsky—Her arrest and torture.

CHAPTER XII

The First and the Second Duma.....136

The Government's reactionary measures before the convocation of the First Duma—Socialists' boycott of the First Duma—Constitutional-Democrats' control of the First Duma—Reforms demanded by the First Duma—The dissolution of the First Duma—The Viborg Manifesto—Elections to the Second Duma—Socialists' factions in the Second Duma—The Government's policy towards the Second Duma—The dissolution of the Second Duma—The reactionary policy of the Tzar's Government.

CHAPTER XIII

The Coming of the Second Revolution.....157

The social classes, participants in the First Revolution—Their needs—The defeat of the First Revolution—Its causes—The reaction of 1906-1910—The breaking of the reactionary wave—The coming of the Second Revolution—Great strike in St. Petersburg on the eve of war—The declaration of war—The change in Socialist tactics—The joint Socialist Manifesto to the Russian laboring masses.

Part II

The Spiritual Leaders of the Russian Revolution

CHAPTER I

Mikhail Alexandrovich Bakunin.....171

Mikhail Bakunin's early years—Polish Rebellion of 1830—First feelings of hatred for despotism—Friendship with Stankevitch and Bielinsky—Life abroad—Meeting with Karl Marx, Engels and Proudhon—Expulsion from France—Hertzen's characterization of Bakunin's life in Paris—Bakunin in Germany—Expulsion from Prussia and Saxony—Participation in the German Revolution—Bakunin's arrest in Saxony—Death sentence and extradition to Austria—Again death sentence and extradition to Russia—Bakunin in the Fortress of St. Peter and Paul—Nicholas I, about Bakunin—Bakunin in the Fortress of Schlüsselburg—Bakunin in Siberia—His escape from Siberia—His life abroad—The organization of the "International Union of Social Democracy"—Franco-Prussian War—Bakunin's activities in France—The approach of old age—Bakunin's farewell letter to his comrades—Prince Kropotkin, about Bakunin.

CHAPTER II

Peter Lavrovich Lavrov 180

Lavrov's life and work before his arrest—Incarceration in the Military Prison of St. Petersburg—Banishment to Vologda—The escape abroad—Joining the International—"Historic Letters"—Editing the "Vperiod"—Lavrov's scientific work—Editing the "Viestnik Narodnoy Voli"—Lavrov as recognized leader of the Russian "intelligentsia—Tchaykovsky, about Lavrov—The last years of Lavrov's life.

CHAPTER III

Peter Alexeyevich Kropotkin..... 187

Kropotkin's childhood—School days and preparation for a Court career — First acquaintance with revolutionary ideas — Life at Court — Scientific studies — Life in Siberia — Research work—Return to St. Petersburg—Studies at the University—The turning point in Kropotkin's life—Revolutionary activities—Life in Switzerland—Affiliation with the International Workingmen's Association —Propaganda among the workers in the Jura Mountains—Return to Petrograd—Affiliation with the Tchaykovsky Circle—Arrest in 1874 — Escape — The assassination of Alexander II—The Holy League—Kropotkin's exile from Switzerland—Kropotkin's arrest in connection with the uprising of the weavers of Lyons in 1882—Work and impressions in prison—Release from prison in 1886—"Mutual Aid"—Return to Russia in 1917—Stand on the war—Speech before the National Conference in Moscow.

CHAPTER IV

Ekaterina Constantinovna Breshko-Breshkovskaya..... 201

Breshkovskaya's parents—Early education—First activities as a revolutionist and propagandist—Arrest—Trial—Her term as hard labor convict—Exile to Siberia—Unsuccessful attempt at escape—Second term as hard labor convict in the Kara mines—Hunger strike—George Kennan, about the "Grandmother of the Russian Revolution"—Her return to Central Russia in 1896—Affiliation with the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists—Stay in the United States in 1904—Return to Russia—Arrest in 1907—Preliminary confinement in the Fortress of St. Peter and Paul—Exile to Siberia—Liberation in 1917—Breshkovskaya's message to America.

CHAPTER V

George Valentinovich Plekhanov 216

Association with the Party of the "Will of the People"—Escape from arrest—Affiliation with "Land and Freedom"—First literary works —Propaganda among the workers—Secession from the Party of the "Will of the People"—Forced trip abroad—Study of scientific socialism—Plekhanov's role as founder of the Group for the Emancipation of Labor—His contributions to Socialist literature—Controversy with the "Will of the People—Literary works—Attitude towards the Bolsheviki—Works on the history of the development of Russian political thought—Plekhanov's stand on the present war—The Socialist manifesto to the working people of Russia—Plekhanov as the future leader of the Russian Democracy.

Part III
The Birth of the Russian Democracy

CHAPTER I

The March Revolution.....227

The beginning of the March Revolution—The Tzar's abdication—Formation of Provisional Government—Duma's part in the first days of the Revolution—Formation of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates—First declaration of the Provisional Government—Abolition of religious and national restrictions and the granting of civil liberties to all Russian citizens—First official notice of the Revolution to the foreign Powers—Foreign policy of the first Provisional Government as outlined by Miliukov—Domestic policy of the Provisional Government—Liberation of the oppressed nationalities—Finnish autonomy—Appeal to the Poles—Extension of equal rights to the Jews—Recognition of the Provisional Government by the United States—Recognition by other Allied countries.

CHAPTER II

The Economic Program of the Provisional Government...256

The economic program of the first Provisional Government as the inevitable program of Russia's future economic development—A. I. Konovalov's speech before the Moscow Stock Exchange on April 4, 1917—Two fundamental problems before New Russia—The relation of the Provisional Government to capital and labor—Russia's need of foreign capital—American-Russian rapprochement—Construction of a merchant marine—The necessity for a thorough study of Russia's national resources and their development—Development of the mining industry—Nationalization of underground riches—Measures concerning the reorganization of industry and its restoration to normal pre-war basis—Coöperation of the people, essential factor in carrying out reforms.

CHAPTER III

The First Crisis—The Resignation of A. I. Guchkov and P. N. Miliukov.....272

Breach between Provisional Government and Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates—Miliukov's communication to the Allied Powers—Attitude of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates—Guchkov's and Miliukov's resignation.

CHAPTER IV

The Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates and its relation to the War.....275

Resolution to call International Socialist Conference — Skobelev's speech—Appeal to the Socialists of all countries—Appeal to the Socialists of the Allied countries—Appeal to the Socialists of the Austro-German Alliance—Appeal to the workingmen and Socialists of the neutral countries—Tseretelli's speech—Appeal to the Army.

CHAPTER V

The Convention of Delegates from the Front.....283

Guchkov's speech—Kerensky's speech—Tseretelli's speech—Guchkov's second speech—Plekhanov's speech—Sailor Batkin's speech—His answer to the Bolsheviki—Resolution adopted by the Convention.

CHAPTER VI

The First All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Delegates...305

S. S. Maslov's speech—Breshko-Breshkovskaya's speech—Chernov's speech—N. D. Avksentiev's speech—Chernov's second speech——Kerensky's speech—Dr. Smirnov's speech—Bunakov's speech—Col. Jakubovich's speech—Resolutions adopted by the Congress—Appeal to the people—Executive Committee of the Congress.

CHAPTER VII

The Middle Class in its Relation to the War and to the Reconstruction of Russia.....327

Private sessions of the Duma—Guchkov's speech—Miliukov's speech—Maklakov's speech—Rodzianko's statement—The All-Russian Congress of Officers' Delegates—Gushchin's speech—Steklov's speech—Shidlovsky's speech—Greetings from Allied nations—Agnieev's and Batkin's speeches—Kerensky's speech—Resolution regarding the war—Resolution regarding internal conditions of the Army.

CHAPTER VIII

The Second Cabinet.....346

Guchkov's and Miliukov's resignation—The Government crisis—Decision of the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates to participate in Government—Declaration of the new Cabinet—Trotsky's opposition to a Coalition Cabinet—Resolution of the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates—Vote of confidence in the Government—Trotsky's speech at the All-Russian Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates—Tseretelli's speech—Kamenev's speech—Resolution adopted by the Congress.

CHAPTER IX

Allied Labor and Socialist Leaders and their Relation to the Russian Revolution 356

Visit of representatives of Allied Labor and Socialist Movement to Russia—Samuel Gompers' appeal to the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates—Emile Vandervelde's statement—Labriola's speech—Albert Thomas' speech at the Conference of Executive Committee of the All-Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates—Thomas' address at a meeting of officers of the Moscow garrison—Thomas' speech before the general meeting of the Moscow Council of Soldiers' Delegates—His final statement—Arthur Henderson's speech before the Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates—Henderson's speech before English colony in Moscow—Henderson's speech before Executive Committee of Moscow Council of Workmen and Soldiers' Delegates.

CHAPTER X

The American Mission to Russia.....377

Personnel of Special American Mission to Russia—President Wilson's note to Russia—President Wilson's statement on the aims of American Mission to Russia—Senator Root's address before Russian Provisional Government—Terestchenko's reply—The activities of the American Mission—James Duncan at the All-Russian Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates—Tscheidze's reply—Charles Edward Russell at the conference of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates—The return of the Mission to the United States—Senator Root's address at reception tendered by City of New York—Senator Root's speech before Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York—The achievements of the Mission.

CHAPTER XI

The Russian Mission to the United States.....391

Arrival of the Russian Mission—Personnel of the Mission—Ambassador Bakhmeteff's speech at presentation of credentials—President Wilson's reply—Ambassador Bakhmeteff's statement to the press—Address before the House of Representatives—Address before the Senate.

CHAPTER XII

On the Eve of the Offensive.....405

Kerensky's part in the preparation of the offensive—Attitude of the All-Russian Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates—Attitude of the All-Russian Cossacks' Congress—Attitude of the Duma—Kerensky's order to the Army—Polemics between Lenine and Kerensky.

CHAPTER XIII

The Great Crisis—July, 1917.....416

The disaster in the Army—Prince Lvov's resignation—Changes in the Cabinet—Appeal to the Army—Gen. Kornilov's appeal to the troops—Resolution of Executive Committee of All-Russian Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates—Appeal to the Army—Restoration of capital punishment—Principal causes of disaster in the Army—Ukrainian problem—The policy of the Provisional Government towards the Ukraine—Appeal of the All-Russian Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates regarding the Bolshevist agitation—First Bolsheviki revolt—Its suppression—Declaration of the new Cabinet.

CHAPTER XIV

The National Conference in Moscow.....434

Chernov's resignation—New Governmental crisis—The National Conference—Its composition and competence—President Wilson's message to the National Conference—Kerensky's speech—Nekrasov's speech—General Kornilov's speech—General Kaledine's speech—Tscheidze's speech—Guchkov's speech—Tseretelli's speech—Boublikov's speech—Breshko-Breshkovskaya's speech—Peter Kropotkin's speech—Plekhanov's speech—Kerensky's concluding speech.

CHAPTER XV

The Fall of Riga and Kornilov's Revolt.....475

Riga's fall—Its cause and effect—Kornilov's revolt—Kerensky's statement—Kornilov's telegram to the Central Naval Committee—Telegram sent by Provisional Government—Kerensky's order to the Troops of Petrograd—Order to the Cossacks—His order to the entire Army—Order to the Railway Workers—Kornilov's arrest—Russia proclaimed a Republic—V. N. Lvov's part in Kornilov's revolt—Gen. Kornilov's telegram to Kerensky and to Gen. Brusilov—Kornilov's telegram to Kerensky on having been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armies—Kornilov's farewell order to the troops of the Southwestern Front.

CHAPTER XVI

The Democratic Conference and the Preliminary Parliament 486

Composition of the Democratic Conference—New Coalition Cabinet—Its declaration—Preliminary Parliament—Attitude of Bolsheviki towards Preliminary Parliament—Kerensky's last speech.

CHAPTER XVII

Russia under the Rule of the Bolsheviki.....494

Last act of Preliminary Parliament—Role of Petrograd garrison in Bolsheviki revolt—Overthrow of the Provisional Government—The Bolsheviki Cabinet—Origin of the Bolsheviki movement—Cause of the Bolsheviki success—Attitude of moderate Socialist leaders towards the Bolsheviki—The part played by the Bolsheviki in Revolution of 1905—Activities of the Bolsheviki in period of reaction—Character of the Bolsheviki rule—Foreign policy of the Bolsheviki—Domestic policy of the Bolsheviki—Attitude of the majority of Russian people toward the Bolsheviki at the moment of the revolt—Attitude of peasantry—Manifestoes of Executive Committee of All-Russian Council of Peasants' Delegates—Resolution and proclamation of the Central Committee of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists—Appeal of the Petrograd Committee of the Social-Democratic Party—Appeal of university students—Maxim Gorky's stand on the Bolsheviki revolt—Lenine, on the political parties in Russia—The evolution of Bolshevism—The national problem in Russia—The Ukrainian problem—Siberia and the Caucasus—The Cossack movement—The Provisional Government and the Constituent Assembly—The Bolsheviki and the Constituent Assembly—The disbandment of the Constituent Assembly—The appeal of the Socialists-Revolutionists—Laws and resolutions passed by the Constituent Assembly—Conclusion.

List of Illustrations

PAGE

Decembrists 19
Pestel, P. 21
Kakhovsky, P. 21
Ryleiev, K. 23
Muraviov, S. 23
Stankevitch, N. V. 28
Bielinsky, Vissarion 31
Turgeniev, I. S. 33
Dostoievsky, T. M. 33
Hertzen, Alexander 35
Kropotkin, Prince Peter 36
Chernyshevsky, N. J. 39
Bakunin, Mikhail 43
Tchaykovsky, Nicholay 45
Morozov, Nicholay 47
Lavrov, Peter 48
Plekhanov, George 50
Zasulich, Vera 52
Zheliabov, A. I. 56
Perovskaya, Sophia 57
Mikhailov, T. M. 57
Kibaltich, N. I. 57
Grinevitsky, N. I. 57
Lopatin, H. A. 61
Figner, Vera 71
Volkenstein, L. A. 73
Mikhailovsky, N. C. 79
Balmashev, Stepan 83
Karpovich, Peter 84
Gershuni, Grigory 87
"Revolutionary Russia" 89
Savinkov, Boris V. 91
Gapon, Father 94
Sazonov, E. 95
Sazonov, E. 96
Kaliaiev, Ivan 107
Kaliaiev, Ivan 109
Schmidt, Lieut. Peter P. 119
After a punitive expedition ... 124
Spiridonova, Maria 125
Konopliannikova, Zinaida 125
Muromtzev, Prof. S. A. 139
Members of the First Duma, Constitutional - Democratic Party 142–144
Members of the First Duma, Party of Democratic Reforms 145
Members of the First Duma, Labor Group 145–147
Members of the First Duma, Social-Democratic Party 147–148
Members of the Second Duma, Constitutional - Democratic Party 149–151

PAGE

Members of the Second Duma, Labor Group 152
Members of the Second Duma, Social-Democratic Party 153–155
Members of the Second Duma, Party of Socialists-Revolutionists 155–156
Bakunin, Mikhail 173
Lavrov, Peter 180
Kropotkin, Prince Peter 189
Breshkovskaya, E. C. Breshko-203
Breshkovskaya, E. C. Breshko-205
Plekhanov, George 216
"Iscra" 219
Tavrichesky Palace 227
Funeral procession, March 23, 1917 228
First Provisional Government. 229
Rodzianko, M. V. 229
"The Most Enduring Union". 230
Facsimile of telegram sent out by the Commissaire of the Duma, A. A. Boublikov, announcing the abdication of Nicholas II and the formation of the Provisional Government 231
Viliuysk Prison 232
Moscow Municipal Duma Building 234
Facsimile of the project of the first appeal by the Provisional Government 238–240
"Izvestia" 243
Facsimile of the first proof of the first appeal by the Provisional Government 241
Woman Suffrage Demonstration in Petrograd 244
A revolutionary poster 246
A detachment of troops at the front taking oath of loyalty to Provisional Government. 250
Konovalov, A. I. 259
Guchkov, A. I. 293
Miliukov, Prof. Paul N. 330
Second Cabinet 347
Root, Elihu 383
Bakhmeteff, Prof. Boris A. ... 393
Kerensky, A. F. 407
Kerensky, A. F. 408
Theatrical Square in Moscow. 434
Last Provisional Government. 487

INTRODUCTION

THE purpose of this book is to present to the American people, first, the great movement which brought Russia to the Revolution of March, 1917, and then, as far as possible by documents, the development of the Revolution from March up to date.

The Revolution of March, 1917, was the outcome of a great movement which started a century ago, immediately after the Napoleonic War, and in which the best representatives of Russia's mind and soul participated from generation to generation. The first revolutionary uprising in Russia was the so-called "Decembrist" revolt, on December 14, 1825, organized by a small group of young officers who, visiting Paris in 1814, had become infected with the ideas of the Great French Revolution. Five Decembrists were executed, the others were exiled to Siberia. When Russia's greatest national poet, Pushkin, sent his greeting to the exiled Decembrists, they answered him from Siberia, "The spark will burst into flame." This prophesy has been fulfilled. While in 1825 it was only a small group of young idealists who rose in revolt against absolutism, by 1905 great masses were engaged in open conflict with Tzarism, and in 1917 the entire people, through a swift and almost bloodless Revolution, began its life as a democratic nation.

At this moment Russia is in a state of temporary disorganization known in the life of every country that has passed from tyranny to free, democratic development. Whatever has happened in Russia, our friends should not be too pessimistic. Russia is not an old man dying from exhaustion, she is a child hurt in trying to walk independently for the first time in her life. She is young and strong, and her people have already begun to understand the cruel lesson. With the help of her friends, we are certain Russia will be able to emerge from the present crisis.

Until the March Revolution Russia was one of the most pitiful places on the globe, with the intellectuals in chains and with the masses in poverty and in darkness. Nevertheless, even under the old régime, there was a light shining forth from Russia to the world, the light of Russia's beautiful culture: Russian literature, Russian science, Russian philosophy, Russian music, Russian art.

We must emphasize that this Russian culture, known throughout the world, was not the product of the intellectuals, of the Russian "intelligentsia" alone. It is true that the Russian "intelligentsia," crucified in prisons, in exile and on the scaffold, produced, during the nineteenth century alone, such writers as Pushkin, Gogol, Turgeniev, Dostoievsky and Tolstoy; such musicians as Glinka, Tchaykovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Mussorgsky and Scriabin; such scientists as Mendeleiev, Lebedev and Metchnikoff. That is all very true, but there is something in Russia's culture even more significant, and this is the fact that cultural creation in Russia was not the monopoly of the intellectual class alone. The Russian masses, themselves, in spite of their poverty and darkness, under a régime of horrible oppression, created a beautiful philosophy, a beautiful literature, a beautiful art. As a matter of fact such writers as Pushkin, Gogol and Tolstoy took many themes and figures from the literature created by the people around them, the literature which has been in existence for thousands of years, having originated, probably, even before the formation of the Russian State, and orally transmitted from generation to generation.

Glinka and Rimsky-Korsakov took their beautiful melodies from the folk songs which can be heard in every Russian town and in every village. The more you know the culture created by the Russian masses, the more you will admire it. You will admire it even in its philosophy, in its reflection upon the most vital problems of human life. Tolstoy used to say that he learned his philosophy from an old, illiterate Russian peasant, Siutayev, and if you ever have the chance to speak with old people in the Russian villages, you will be surprised to find

how much there is in common between these simple, sometimes naive minds and the trend of thought of the greatest philosopher and thinker produced by Russia.

There is a great Russian culture in existence, not as a culture created by a single Russian class or group, but as a culture of Russia as a nation. We must also state that Russia, although a composite of many nationalities speaking different languages, living under diverse traditions, nevertheless, presents a national unity, not only in its vertical crosscut, but also in its horizontal structure. We may imagine the future Russia as a federated republic, with every nationality enjoying the fullest measure of autonomy and self-government, but there will be one great, united Russia, with every nationality loyal to the democratic central Government.

Now, when Germany is planning a monarchic restoration in Finland, it is possible that even Finland, through its democracy, will strain towards reunion with Russia. The Ukrainian movement, if there was such a popular movement, was never a movement aiming at separation from Russia. In the summer of 1917, when the Ukrainian movement was in full swing, one of the greatest Russian newspapers delegated a very talented writer and publicist, Nicholas Treniov, to the Ukraine to find out the nature of this movement. Treniov's answer was most interesting and, in a few words, may be put as follows: "When I am among the intelligent people in the Ukraine, I feel that there is in existence a certain cultural movement. I hear people trying to speak Ukrainian, arguing with all the fervor of their beings that the Ukraine has a right to a cultural and political autonomy. The picture changes when I am in the streets, in the public squares, among the masses. They seem to be interested in everything in the world, but in the question of Ukrainian autonomy. The Ukrainian movement is just a movement among the Ukrainian intelligentsia."

Whether the Ukraine will come back to Russia or not, depends very much upon the outcome of the war. There are probably reasons for believing in the existence of a Ukrainian culture, but this culture is so close to the culture of Great

Russia that volumes are written with the special purpose of proving that there is a Ukrainian culture in existence. The Ukrainians are justly proud of their great poet, Shevchenko, but the Great Russians love him and consider him their own. On the other hand, the greatest writers of the Ukrainian nationality, Gogol and Korolenko, wrote in Russian and will live forever in the history of Russian literature and culture.

The beauty and the power of Russia's culture may be best illustrated by the fact that it drew to itself even nationalities far distant from the Russian in their historical and cultural traditions. From this point of view, of special interest are the Jewish and the Caucasian problems, as cultural problems in Russia.

Under the régime of the Tzars life was difficult for almost everyone, even of pure Russian blood. Nevertheless, the tortures to which the Jewish population in Russia were subjected were many, many times more painful and bitter. In spite of it, the Russian Jews were able to draw a definite distinction between the autocracy which oppressed them and the great Russian people which, through its best representatives, has always defended their human rights. In spite of their terrible sufferings, they felt the immortal beauty of Russia's culture and many of them have contributed their best to that culture.

If we take the history of Russian paintings, we find there, among the greatest artists, a Jewish name, Levitan. He came into Russian art at a very significant moment, at the end of the nineteenth century, when the Russian painters, after copying and imitating the standards of art in other countries, had come to a longing to bring a national, Russian motif into their art. Many tried, but only Levitan succeeded. And his name is forever immortal in the history of Russian art, and his paintings, presenting the beauty and something which I would call the thoughtfulness of the Russian landscape, are known to everyone who loves Russia, thinks of Russia and longs for Russia.

The Jewish name, Antokolsky, is forever connected with the

history of Russian sculpture and represents an epoch in this branch of Russia's art. If we take the history of Russian culture, as a science in itself, we will find among the historians who devoted their lives to studying it, the Jewish name, Gershensohn, which in itself represents an entire school. Tens of prominent names may be presented showing that the Jewish people are closely bound up with the Russian culture, that in spite of their experiences, they saw in Russia not a stepmother, but a loving mother. This is true not only about the Jews,—these are the feelings of almost every nationality historically bound with Russia.

It is just a little over half a century since the Caucasus was conquered by Russia, after a long and bloody war. If there is a part of Russia where a separatist movement could arise, it is the Caucasus, with its language and culture so different from the Russian. And yet, a separatist movement in the Caucasus is not in existence, and since the beginning of the twentieth century, during the critical years for Russia, the Caucasus has produced many great Russian patriots, in the best sense of the word, among whom I. G. Tseretelli may be mentioned as the most prominent. Tseretelli, or as he is often called in Russia, "noble Tseretelli," was the leader of the Social-Democratic faction in the Second Duma. He was sentenced to life imprisonment at hard labor in Siberia and, after ten years, the March Revolution set him free. He was the Minister of Post and Telegraph, and later the Minister of Interior in Kerensky's Cabinet.

Russia's final fate is not yet decided. It depends very much upon the outcome of the war. We may imagine further years of conflict, but France, England, Italy and the United States will stay at their fighting posts. And if the conflict is continued, Russia will come back. We may imagine years of further fighting and millions of new sacrifices, but never will democracy submit to autocracy. And if democracy finally prevails, the new Russian Democracy will rise to the manhood which will make her, in President Wilson's words, "a fit partner for a League of Honor."

Hope for Russia's future lies, first of all, in the strength and beauty and young vigor of Russia's national culture, which is a culture of all Russian classes and of almost all nationalities historically bound with the Russian State. After the period of temporary disintegration, the different parts of Russia, now torn away from the center, such parts as the Ukraine, the Baltic Provinces, the Don region, the Caucasus and Siberia, will come together, not only because economically they cannot exist as independent States, but also because they are culturally united, and the non-Russian nationalities, in as far as they inhabit these Provinces, will prefer orientation towards democratic Russia to orientation towards Germany, Austria and Turkey.

Hope for Russia's future is furthermore built on the hope for every democracy. This is a critical moment in the life of humanity, but at the same time, what a significant moment! Young, democratic Russia under the heels of Prussian Junkerdom—what a pitiful picture! But, on the other side, the Allied Democracies with their iron armies in defense of the principle of freedom, with their leader, the leader of civilization, President Wilson, at the head! Never in human history was the brutality, the bestiality of men better represented than in the figure of the German Kaiser making his victorious speeches and calling the old German Gott his faithful ally. And never, on the other hand, was the great moral force, the beauty, the overwhelming power of democratic civilization better represented than in the figure of the glorious President of the United States, in his speeches and statements, bringing this conflict to the heights of a great moral issue, making this war, on the Allied side, as he recently said, a war of emancipation.

The Russian situation is critical but not hopeless, and it is the great democracy of the United States to whom we mostly look for brotherly help at this difficult period in our national existence. Among the many friends of the new Russian Democracy, President Wilson is the greatest. As long as Russia lives,—we hope that she will recover and live forever,—

Russian school children will learn the story of the great President of this great country, who in the most critical moment in Russia's life came out with a statement in her defense and declared as one of the war aims of the Allies, the evacuation of Russia's territories by our common enemy, and the freedom of Russia's political development.

Under the present circumstances we had to finish the book with the pitiful picture of Russia under the rule of the Bolsheviki. But, we still believe in the Russian Democracy, we believe that after the terrible lesson, the constructive forces in the young country will gather strength daily, and it is possible that the time is not distant when Russia will begin to see the light of a new and brighter life. We hope that at the time of the next issue of this book the tyrannic rule of the Bolsheviki will be already a matter of the past, and Russia will have come, through a Constituent Assembly, to a stable, democratic government and to a democratic order without which the new Democracy can neither exist nor develop.

As time passes new developments will appear in the great process of the Birth of the Russian Democracy. On the other hand, many documents will have to come to light before even the past stages of the Revolution will be entirely clear. The author hopes to incorporate these new materials in the following issues of the book. It is possible also that in the following issues the author will be able to give more space to the history of the Revolutionary Movement before the March Revolution and to the spiritual leaders of the Revolution. One of the first things he would gladly do would be to allow space for special chapters devoted to Alexander Hertzen and N. C. Mikhailovsky.

The author considers it a pleasant duty to express his thanks to Prof. G. V. Lomonosoff, D. Leonidov, Samuel Lovitch, Moissaye J. Olgin, E. I. Omelchenko, D. M. Rubinow and V. D. Soskice for their kindness in supplying the author with a number of the photographs appearing in this book.

All the dates in the book are given according to the new calendar. In tracing the revolutionary developments up to the present war, the author used "St. Petersburg" instead of Petrograd,—the name given the Capital in the beginning of war with Germany,—for the purpose of preserving the historical color.

Part I

The History of the Revolutionary Movement in Russia

THE DECEMBRISTS
Pestel, Ryleiev, Bestuzshev-Riumin, Muraviov and Kakhovsky.

CHAPTER I

The Decembrists—The First Russian Revolutionists

EVERYONE who watches the great events in Russia may have noticed that the Russian revolutionary crowds sing the Marseillaise. This is symbolic of the deep influence which the great French Revolution had on the entire development of the revolutionary movement in Russia. The beginning of this movement dates back to the beginning of the nineteenth century, to the time after the Napoleonic War, when many young Russian officers, returning to their homes from Paris, brought back with them the great democratic ideas which inspired the French Revolution. These officers laid the foundation of the first Russian revolutionary organizations. Some of these organizations had but a brief span

of life, whereas others have had a definite effect on Russia's revolutionary development.

One of these political organizations that came into being in St. Petersburg was led by an ambitious young officer of great ability and strong will, Pavel Pestel, an adjutant to Prince Witgenstein. It was known as the "Union of Salvation." Pestel organized it after the manner of Italian secret organizations. It was divided into four different classes or degrees, with different rights, very much like the Masonic orders. The Constitution of this organization called for an initiation with dreadful oaths. The majority of the members were young idealists, many not even in their twenties. Their aim was a constitutional form of government.

Soon after this Society was organized and the Constitution advocated by Pestel accepted, Pestel left St. Petersburg. Then a very much more moderate element rose to control in this organization. This element was led by a new member, Mikhail Muraviov, who influenced the Society to change not only its Constitution but its name as well. It changed its name to the "Union of Welfare" and, casting secrecy aside, became in reality a social welfare organization. Its aims were fourfold: educational, philanthropic, economic and the betterment of the judiciary.

The educational aim expressed itself in an effort to spread education, chiefly in the army, though the civilian population in some instances also benefited by the spread of the so-called Lancasterian schools. In these schools more advanced pupils taught those below them. The philanthropic aim evinced itself in a desire to help those in need, to improve conditions among the peasantry. Though the "Union of Welfare" did not advocate the abolition of serfdom, it, however, recommended kind treatment for the serfs. To insure a greater degree of justice, some of the members undertook service in the lower courts. As for the economic aim, that expressed itself mainly in the publishing of books discussing improvements in the financial and economic affairs of the country.

Gradually increasing dissatisfaction with the Government's policies of repression moved some of the members to suggest

P. G. KAKHOVSKY

P. I. PESTEL

Executed on July 13, 1826.

more energetic action on the part of the Society. One member even offered to assassinate the Emperor, if the Society approved. But this Society was too timorous for more energetic action, as we shall see. In 1820 the soldiers of a St. Petersburg regiment, the Semionovsky Polk, mutinied because the Commander of the regiment had ordered several cavaliers of the order of St. George flogged. By law they were exempt from such punishment. The officers of the regiment, most of whom were members of the "Union of Welfare," had done what they could to prevent the mutiny, but had not succeeded. When it was reported to the Emperor that the regiment he had himself once commanded had mutineed, he refused to believe that the officers were innocent. He ordered the regiment disbanded and the officers and soldiers scattered among many military stations. The "Union of Welfare," observing the attitude of the Government, officially disbanded in January, 1821. The officers of the disbanded regiment in many instances became nuclei for revolutionary propaganda in the various parts to which they were sent.

When the news of the complete disbanding of the "Union of Welfare" reached Pestel, who was then in Southern Russia, where a branch organization was in existence, he and his followers refused to follow the lead of the St. Petersburg organization. Pestel's branch became an independent organization, with the avowed aim of a republic for Russia, to be achieved by revolutionary means. They readopted Pestel's original Constitution and organized in three branches.

Pestel began to agitate for the annihilation of the entire Imperial family. He and the leaders of the other two branches of the Southern Society met once a year, from 1822 to 1825, but could not agree about the means to be employed, and so the question was annually postponed.

A young officer of the Semionovsky regiment, Mikhail Bestuzshev-Riumin, assistant to the leader of one of the branches, found out about the existence of another revolutionary organization called the "Society of United Slavs." Their idea was a federated republic of all the Slav nations. He induced them to join the Southern Society.

In 1822, when the officers of the Semionovsky regiment were permitted to return to St. Petersburg, they renewed their former activities in an organization called the "Northern Society." Nikita Muraviov, a son of one of the teachers of Alexander I, undertook to draw up their Constitution. It called for a federated constitutional monarchy. Though many of the members would have preferred a republic, they saw no hope for so radical a change. Russia was to be divided into thirteen (later the Society decided fifteen) autonomous provinces. Each province was to be governed by its own Duma, but was to be subject to the control of the central authority. The central authority was to be vested in a council called "vieche," which alone could declare war, peace and grant amnesty. It was also to have all legislative powers. The Monarch's powers were to be very limited.

On the other hand, Pestel's Constitution called for a republican form of government, with a strong centralized administration. He did not believe any monarchical government

K. F. RYLEIEV

S. I. MURAVIOV

Executed on July 13, 1826.

could be expressive of the will of the people. Pestel would not have any local autonomy. The entire country must be one unit, politically. He meant to make Finland a part of this unit. He was willing to allow Poland to separate if she promised to establish a form of government similar to the one in Russia.

In Pestel's republic the central administration was to be concentrated in a body consisting of five Directors. A council called "vieche" was to hold the legislative power. All land was to be divided into communal, for the benefit of all the people, and state lands, which the State could use for revenue or dispose of at its discretion. On the whole, Pestel believed that the primary use of land is for the common benefit of the masses.

Pestel agreed that Russia was not ready for a republic. He believed that a military coup d'etat could bring about the downfall of the existing form of government. Then he intended to organize a provisional government in the form of a military dictatorship. This temporary government would prepare the people for a republic in about eight or ten years.

In 1824 Pestel went to St. Petersburg and tried to persuade the "Northern Society" to unite with the "Southern Society," but the St. Petersburg organization was opposed to Pestel's plans to establish a republic.

These two organizations were representative of the division in views among revolutionary circles in the last years of the reign of Alexander I, when the thinking people, the "intelligentsia" had come to realize that there was no hope of mitigating the Government's despotism by peaceful means. Even these secret Societies, which had not had a definitely revolutionary program, were then becoming frankly revolutionary.

Alexander I died unexpectedly on November 19, 1825. His brother, Constantine, the next in succession, had no desire to reign, and had sent Alexander a written abdication in 1822. Alexander had had a manifesto to that effect prepared and had appointed his brother Nicholas as his successor, but the manifesto had not been made public. Therefore, before Nicholas declared his accession, he wanted Constantine to come

to St. Petersburg and confirm the abdication, but Constantine refused.

In the brief interregnum that occurred while the two brothers negotiated, members of the secret Society in St. Petersburg thought they saw a good opportunity. They decided that this was a favorable time to rise in revolt and demand a constitution.

A number of officers of the Guard and of the Navy, members of the Northern Society, persuaded one regiment of the Guards, several companies of the Guard—Marines and a few isolated soldiers and officers that Nicholas had no lawful right to the throne, as Constantine had not abdicated. On December 14, when the accession of Nicholas was proclaimed, these rebels, strengthened by several artillery-batteries, gathered on Senate Square, and demanded a constitution. They let it be known that they considered Constantine the lawful Emperor, and they refused to swear allegiance to Nicholas.

Two emissaries sent by Nicholas to negotiate with the rebels were shot at. The civilian population began to join the insurgents. Then Nicholas ordered a cavalry charge and the rebels were put to flight, leaving numbers of dead and wounded. The Chief-of-Police ordered the corpses thrown into the ice-holes on the Neva River. Report had it that many wounded were thrown into the river along with the dead, because. Nicholas had ordered a hasty clearing of the scene of the insurrection. A number of corpses froze to the ice, and so it was forbidden to drink the water or cut ice in that part of the river that winter. This was the opening scene of the reign of Nicholas I.

The police became busy, and searches and arrests in St. Petersburg were numerous. The leaders were taken, and with them hundreds of others, many having no knowledge of the conspiracy. To secure his personal safety and the safety of the Empire, Nicholas decided to study all the causes and foundations of the insurrection of December 14. Suspects were arrested all over Russia, but of the five hundred or so held, only one hundred twenty were brought to trial.

During the first six months of his reign Nicholas I gave him-

self entirely to investigating that conspiracy, neglecting all other State affairs. Judged by numbers this uprising was really a small affair, but Nicholas spoke and acted as if he had saved the country from a dreadful calamity. He took an active part at the trials, as he called them, though there was not even a form of trial. The prisoners were brought before a Court consisting of members of the State Council, senators, three members of the Synod and thirteen other members appointed by Nicholas. Nicholas himself examined some of the Decembrists (those who had taken part in the December uprising), exhibiting throughout his bad temper and the cruelty of his nature. Some of the prisoners were not even questioned. They were simply called before the Court, one by one, to hear sentence passed upon them.

According to the verdict, five Decembrists,—Pestel, Muraviov, Kakhovsky, Bestuzshev-Riumin and Ryleiev,—were sentenced to be quartered. Nicholas commuted it to hanging. Thirty-one more were sentenced to be shot. These sentences were commuted to imprisonment at hard labor, the terms ranging from fifteen and twenty years to life. A very few of the officers were reduced to the rank of ordinary soldiers for life. but the majority were exiled to Siberia, some after spending many years of imprisonment in fortresses.

In his desire to get at the root of the sedition, Nicholas requested some of the prisoners to write out the grievances on which their disaffection was founded. Some of the Decembrists handed in memoranda without special request. One of the secretaries of a Committee appointed by the Emperor to investigate all the causes of the conspiracy, added this material to the result of the Committee's findings, and drew up a report for Nicholas. He found that it was necessary to grant the country clear, definite laws; to do away with lingering court proceedings and so insure a greater degree of justice; to put commerce and industry on a stable foundation; to support such of the nobility as had become ruined by loans in credit-associations; to elevate the standard of morality among the clergy; to abolish the degrading sale of men; to rebuild the navy; to encourage private sea-faring; to ameliorate conditions

among the peasants; to grant education in accordance with the status of the pupils; in fact, to rectify abuses and improve conditions wherever necessary. Nicholas undertook to consider this memorandum.

N. V. STANKEVITCH

CHAPTER II

The Revolutionary Movement During the Reign of Nicholas I and the First Part of the Reign of Alexander II

IN spite of this promise, the reign of Nicholas I was marked by the most cruel oppression, and revolutionary sentiment in Russia continued to develop. In the early thirties of the nineteenth century Moscow had become the center of revolutionary thought. Two circles of student-radicals were organized in the University of Moscow. One was led by Alexander Hertzen and the other by Stankevitch. The members of Hertzen's circle were interested mainly in social and political problems. This group considered themselves the heirs of the revolutionary ideas of the Decembrists. Hertzen's circle did not exist very long. The members were arrested

for singing revolutionary songs, at a party given upon their graduation from the University. After several months under arrest, they were exiled to provinces far from Moscow.

The members of Stankevitch's circle were interested mostly in philosophy and ethics. Bakunin, the famous revolutionist about whom we shall speak later, was not then in Russia, but he joined this circle from abroad.

Nicholas I, seeing that the intellectuals, the so-called "intelligentsia," were becoming more and more imbued with revolutionary ideas, decided to adopt special "educational" measures. His Minister of Education, Uvarov, agreed with him that education must aim to inculcate a firm belief in the conservative principles of Orthodoxy, Absolutism and Nationality. It was his aim to guard the Russian youth against the infiltration of any West-European or revolutionary ideas. To inculcate these conservative principles, everything was done to prevent the spread of education and the liberty of thought. Uvarov is known to have said that he would "die in peace" if he could succeed in keeping new ideas from filtering into Russia for about half a century.

The French Revolution of 1848 served to rouse Nicholas I to even greater reactionary measures, for he hoped thereby to prevent the revolutionary spirit from entering Russia. On the other hand, the French Revolution served to foment revolutionary thought among the "intelligentsia." In St. Petersburg, in Moscow and even in the provinces, radical circles came into existence fast. All these circles were known to one another. They met at private homes where they spent evenings discussing social, political and literary problems. They argued juridical problems, they exchanged views on the peasant question, they declared for freedom of the press, they read literary selections that did not dare to appear in the open press, and they discussed the political situation in Western Europe. Two magazines that had been greatly responsible for influencing progressive thought among these young men were the "Annals of the Fatherland" and the "Contemporary." The famous writer, Vissarión Bielinsky, the leading spirit of the "Annals

of the Fatherland," who had then become extremely revolutionary, had disciples throughout all Russia.

These revolutionary tendencies among the "intelligentsia" frightened Nicholas and his reactionary advisers. He appointed a Committee to look into the matter, the "Buturlin Committee," to watch the press and examine articles even after they were passed by the regular censor. The censorship became crazed, and there were instances when the Government of Nicholas I punished men, who themselves as censors in the past, had passed articles or verses in which were now found symptoms of disloyalty. The famous writer, Turgeniev, was arrested in 1852, through a report of the censor. A group of Russian intelligent people, the Petrashevsky Circle, was tried, found guilty and sentenced to execution just because they had dared to spend evenings together discussing West-European political and social problems. They were forced to go through preparations for execution, to frighten them. Twenty men were finally sentenced to hard labor with exile to Siberia. One of these men sentenced to hard labor was the world-famous writer, F. M. Dostoievsky.

Not only the press suffered, not only the schools and universities were subjected to most violent repression, but even such rights as the right to travel were trespassed upon, and no one could leave Russia without the personal permission of the Emperor. The Civil Service Statute was modified to empower the authorities to dismiss any official considered politically untrustworthy, without any form of trial, without any explanation.

In 1853 the war with Turkey came. The results of bureaucratic inefficiency became so evident that a challenging attitude towards the Government began to awaken even among the conservative elements of society. Military equipment at the front was scant, ammunition and food supplies lacking, while carts, horses and oxen were being heavily requisitioned in the Southern Provinces. It was very evident that the theft of supplies and State moneys was being extensively carried on by those in charge of supplying the army. Quantities of bandages prepared in the Capitals not only did not reach the

VISSARION BIELINSKY

One of Russia's foremost critics and publicists. Through his enthusiasm, eloquence and lofty idealism, Bielinsky exercised a tremendous influence over the youth of his generation. Representing the progressive ideas of his time, he strongly advocated the abolition of serfdom. Died on May 26, 1848.

army, but were actually sold to the enemy by the officials through whose hands these goods had to pass. As a result, even among the masses resentment was felt, and the mobilized militia gave way to riots and similar disorders, refusing to obey the police officials.

On the crest of this crisis Nicholas I passed away.

ALEXANDER II, the son of Nicholas I, had stood strictly by his father in all his obscurantist measures. But Russia's failures in the Crimean War had made him see the need for reforms.

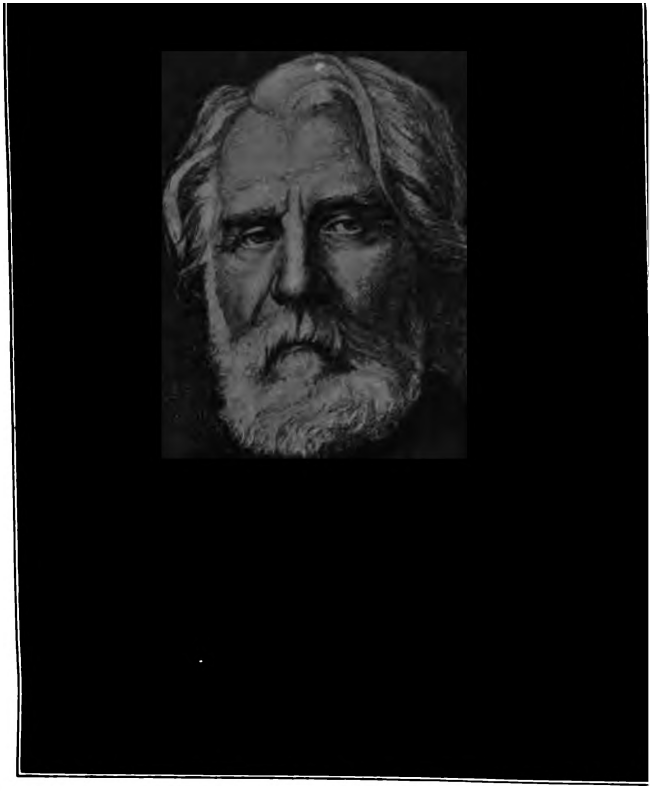
At the very outset of his reign, he dismissed the Buturlin Committee, that had terrorized the press, abolished the restrictions imposed upon the universities after 1848 and granted permission for the issuance of passports for going abroad. Then came a long period of agitation for the abolition of serfdom. As a result of this agitation, Alexander appointed a Committee to draw up a project to cover the entire problem. And during this period even the radicals hailed Alexander as a hero.

The press, emboldened by these tendencies in the Government, had taken to discussing the peasant question quite freely, and by 1861 it was actually discussing all the political and social questions of the day. The leading spirit of the "intelligentsia" at that time was Alexander Hertzen, who was then living in London, where he published his famous "Bell." Hertzen, knowing Russia and her needs thoroughly, and writing in London, could speak out even more openly. In 1860 he went so far as to publish projects for practically the reorganization of Russia's social system, through peasant-reform.

The Act of Liberation of 1861 gave the peasants their freedom, under overwhelming obligations. The sting of serf was removed, and for that the peasants were grateful, but the conditions governing the redeeming of the land were far from satisfactory. The peasants had expected their land clear of any compensation. Instead, they were made to pay so heavily that the redemption became a matter of tens of years.

F. M. DOSTOIEVSKY

Famous novelist. Was arrested on April 23, 1849, for belonging to the Petrashevsky Circle. Was sentenced to death. This sentence was commuted to four years' imprisonment at hard labor, in Siberia



I. S. TURGENIEV

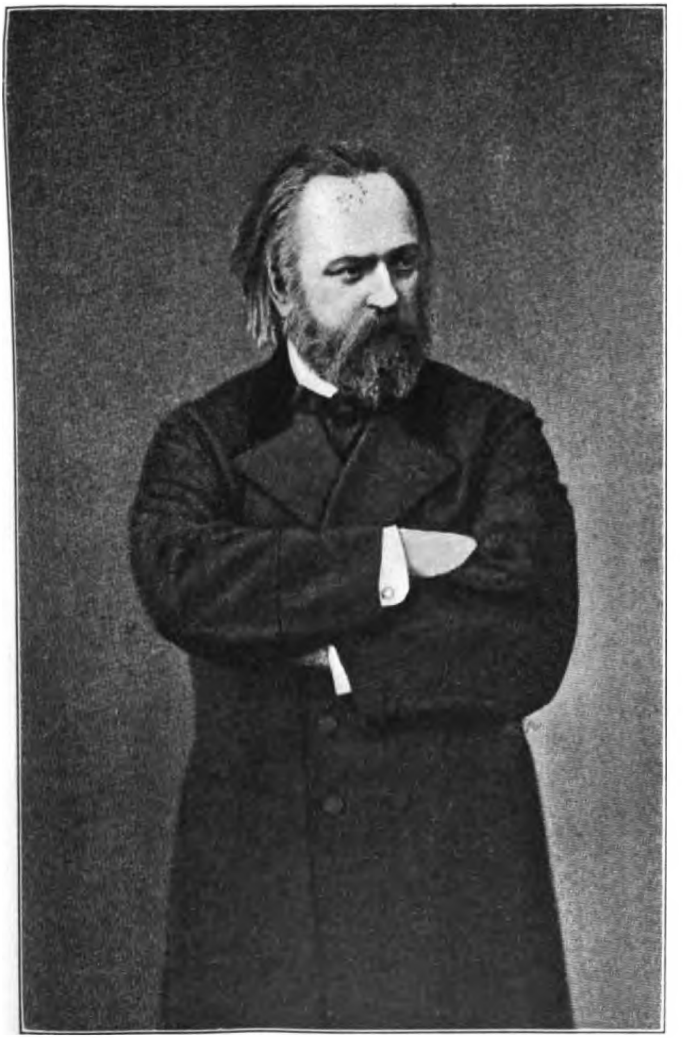
Famous novelist. A nobleman by birth, he produced the most powerful indictment against serfdom in his masterpiece, "Memoirs of a Sportsman." Was arrested in 1852 for his letter written on the occasion of Gogol's death and exiled to the Province of Orlov.

The radical circles were very disappointed, and mistrust of the policy of the Government again began to assert itself.

The peasants could not believe that their Tzar had given them that kind of freedom, and accused the landowners of concealing the "real freedom" and giving them a "forged freedom." Disturbances and even bloodshed occurred. In one village, the Governor-General, appointed by Alexander II for just such emergencies, ordered his soldiers to fire at the peasants. More than one hundred twenty-five peasants were killed and wounded. A young professor and students of the Kazan University arranged for a requiem mass for these poor peasants. The monks who officiated at this mass were exiled by Alexander himself. This was the first manifestation of dissatisfaction on the part of the masses of the people, and the Government had met it in its own way. It foreshadowed the despotic policy Alexander adopted after 1866. Naturally the "intelligentsia" were deeply moved by these outrages.

Even the nobles, the more liberal among them, then began to see the great need for fundamental reforms. Early in 1862 the nobles of the Province of Tver drew up a resolution calling for reform in the financial system of the State, for the establishment of independent and public courts, for full publicity in all departments of the administration, so as to create confidence in the Government, and for the abolition of class-distinctions, for the furtherance of which they willingly renounced all their class-privileges. They concluded by declaring that these reforms could not be realized through governmental measures. They did not consider the Government in a position to accomplish them. "The only road to the free institutions to which these reforms lead is an assembly of men elected by the entire nation, without any difference of class," was their conclusion. The Government's response was plain: thirteen of the signers of this resolution were committed to the fortress prison of St. Peter and St. Paul, and after five months they were sentenced to two years further imprisonment.

The famous revolutionist, Prince Peter Kropotkin, who, as page-de-chambre to Alexander II, had had every opportunity to study the Emperor at first hand, says of him in his "Memoirs



ALEXANDER HERTZEN

Famous publicist. Was arrested in 1834, exiled to Perm. Later transferred to Viatka and from there to Vladimir. Exerted a powerful influence over the minds of the Russian intelligentsia of his time. Through his "Colocol" (Bell), the first free Russian political publication, issued in London, he moulded public opinion during the period of reforms, in the sixties, and played a prominent part in the liberation of the serfs.

PRINCE PETER KROPOTKIN

of a Revolutionist": "Alexander II had retained too much of the despotic character of his father. . . He easily lost his temper . . . He was not what one would describe as a truly reliable man, either in his policy or in his personal sympathies, and he was vindictive. . . . Some of the men in his nearest surroundings were of the worst description. . . . From the beginning of 1862 he commenced to show himself capable of reviving the worst practices of his father's reign. . . . The slightest disturbance was repressed under his orders with a stern severity: he took each movement as a personal offense so that at any moment one might expect from him the most reactionary measures."*

In commercial and industrial circles also, the oppositional movement was coming to life. For some reason the Government had lowered the rate of interest paid on deposits in governmental credit-institutions. The building of railroads, which began at that time, had been given over to foreign capitalists, and Russian capitalists had been forced to invest in short-lived undertakings. Many had lost heavily. There had been an unwarranted increase in the number of commercial and industrial undertakings, immediately after the Crimean war, and many of those had collapsed. So dissatisfaction with the Government was rife among the industrial and commercial circles. Progressive merchants began to contribute money for educational purposes, and by their attitude towards the progressive press manifested their sympathy with liberalism.

The revolutionary spirit of some of the progressive publications grew fast. The Government was alarmed as it observed this spread of opposition and radicalism. In the fall of 1861 and in 1862, proclamations breathing revolution began to appear. One proclamation naively called for the complete abolition of any form of police, and threatened the Government with the fall of the dynasty if the necessary reforms were not accomplished. It asserted that Russia did not need a monarch, that an elected Elder, who should receive a salary, would serve Russia's interests best.

*"Memoirs of a Revolutionist," P. Kropotkin, pp. 149-150.

Another proclamation directly called for a revolution, a bloody one, exterminating all who were not on the side of the revolution. These were from all appearances the work of two young men, acting on their own initiative. It could not be proven that they had any party behind them. But the Government, in its fear, began to arrest. The supposed authors of those two proclamations were arrested. Anybody who had had any relations with Alexander Hertzen, abroad, was arrested. Many representatives of the progressive press were arrested. Among these was the famous economist, Chernyshevsky, who was sentenced to fourteen years at hard labor. Several progressive publications were entirely suppressed.

On April 4, 1866, a young student, Dmitri Karakozov, made an attempt on the life of Alexander II. The incident made an ineradicable impression on Alexander. His followers made capital of it and started him from a self-contradictory policy of moderate reforms mixed with repressive measures, on the road of definite reaction.

The tendencies of thought of the younger generation were held to be responsible, and to prevent any further fomentation, an extreme reactionary, Count Dmitri Tolstoy, was appointed Minister of Education. The various Ministers were in turn supplanted by reactionaries. General Shuvaloff as chief of the state police, and General Trepoff as chief of the Petrograd police, both unscrupulous, corrupt, cruel, soon became the real rulers of Russia. Playing on Alexander's fears of a revolution, they made him sign the most violently reactionary measures. If Alexander demurred when they sought his signature to some new act of repression, mentioning the reforms of the beginning of his reign, Shuvaloff would organize a hunting party to the forests of Novgorod. Surrounded by courtiers, hunters and ballet girls, Alexander, excited by the chase, would sign any scheme of repression or thievery Shuvaloff wanted.

Through the activity of Dmitri Tolstoy, the new Minister of Education, the curriculum of the higher schools, the gymnasia, was changed. The study of natural science was eliminated, the time given to the study of history, geography and modern languages was very much shortened, for those

N. G. CHERNYSHEVSKY

Famous economist and publicist. Was arrested in 1862. After two years' confinement in the Fortress of St. Peter and Paul, was sentenced to seven years' hard labor, which term was followed by exile to Viluisk, Siberia. Died Oct. 17, 1889.

studies, according to Dmitri Tolstoy, turned youths to "senseless highbrows," trained them to form "premature, hasty conclusions." That was his charge against the subjects that make for independent thinking. Instead he introduced an impossible number of hours of Latin and Greek. Absolute obedience was to be inculcated, and espionage was introduced in the guise of "confidence and frankness" on the part of the pupils towards their teachers.

Then the Government turned its attention to the courts that had been dispensing justice too mildly in cases of violation of the censorship. To prevent further "mildness," a new Minister of Justice was appointed, Von Pahlen, a man in keeping with the rest of the reactionary administration. From then on appeared many additions and modifications of the laws so that soon the original liberal intent was absolutely destroyed.

CHAPTER III

The Revolutionary and Liberal Movement During the Latter Part of the Reign of Alexander II

NEVERTHELESS, all these measures could not destroy either the development of Russian political thought, or the revolutionary spirit spreading in the country. In the early sixties there had appeared for the first time in Russian literature writers who were of the common people. They became known as the Narodnichestvo school of writers. Up to that time Russia's literature had been almost wholly the creation of nobles. These new writers were close to the people, and, in their writings, painted most impressively the terrible economic and cultural conditions under which the peasants were living since "liberation," without land. In the latter sixties an unfortunate combination of crop failures, in some provinces, together with the over-burdening system of taxation was bearing fruit. A terrific famine raged, and many peasants were actually dying of starvation. These writers of the people painted conditions among the suffering peasants so vividly that the younger generation of the "intelligentsia" was roused to action.

These young people held that they had been enabled to enjoy a cultural life only at the expense of the masses. Therefore it was their duty to go among the masses and do what they could in return. During 1868—1869 there were many manifestations of protest against the Government, among the University students, who were deeply affected by the conditions of the peasants suffering from famine, in the Province of Smolensk. Numbers of the students were expelled and transported to their homes. Scattered over Russia they immediately began to spread the very ideas for the holding of which they had been expelled.

Just about that time M. A. Bakunin, a young nobleman and a former officer in the artillery, but then in exile, living in Geneva, had practically formulated for the radical younger

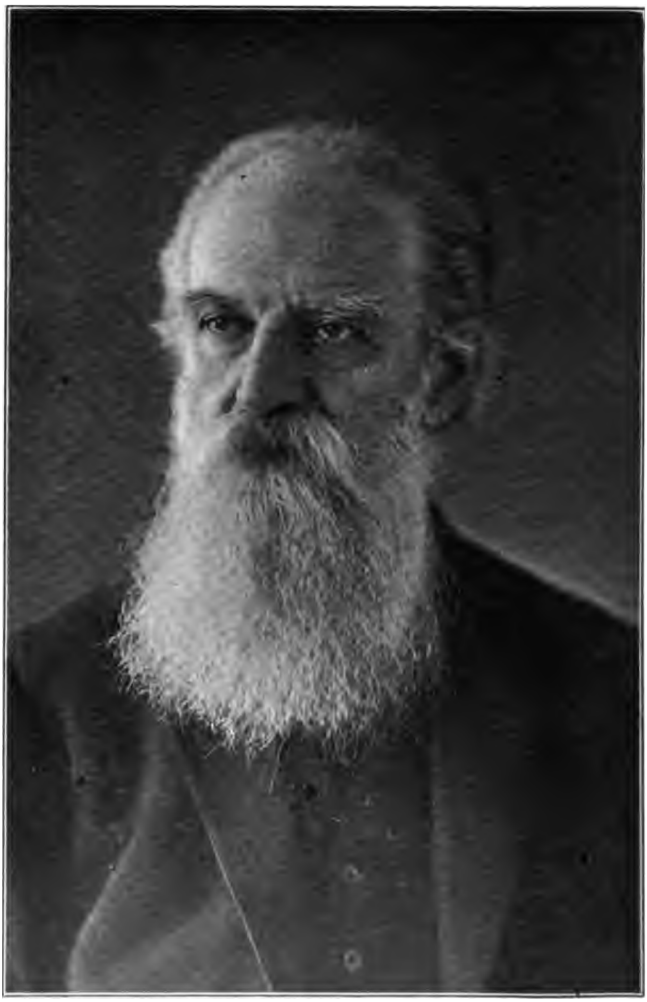
generation their tasks, called forth by the needs of the moment. Bakunin, one of the founders of the theory of anarchism, held that the first task in the achievement of progress was the freeing of one's personality by casting off all religious beliefs. The second point of his formula called for truth and justice in social forms. He pointed out clearly that by truth and justice in social forms, he meant a social order built on the economic and social liberation of the people, through the abolition of hereditary property. All land, according to his views, had to be transferred to agricultural communes, and the factories, means of production and capital—to labor associations. He insisted on the granting of equal rights to women, the abolition of marriage and family. Public education was to be open to all children. But all this could only be realized by beginning with a complete annihilation of the State. He pointed out that no matter what the form of Government, social and economic freedom were impossible, for all Government is founded on compulsion and the authority of one group over the rest of the people.

Bakunin advised leaving the universities and going among the people, not simply to teach them, but to arouse them against the existing conditions of society. No real progress was possible, he held, until that social order was completely overthrown.*

Just about this time, in the beginning of the seventies, there came into existence, among the Russian "intelligentsia," a group whose purpose it was to go among the people, to teach them to read and write, to spread good books among them, and also the ideal of a better social order. This group was called the Circle of Tchaykovsky, after one of their number. The well-known revolutionist, Prince Peter Kropotkin was a member of this Circle. In his "Memoirs of a Revolutionist" Prince Kropotkin says of the Circle: "They began to spread good books. They bought the works of Lassalle, Bervi (on the condition of the laboring classes in Russia), Marx, Russian historical works, and so on,—whole editions,—and distributed

*Further details about Bakunin are given on pp. 171-179, in special chapter devoted to this spiritual leader of the Russian revolutionary movement.

MIKHAIL BAKUNIN
One of the spiritual leaders of the Russian Revolutionary Movement.



NICHOLAY TCHAYKOVSKY

Founder of the Tchaykovsky Circle, which played a very important role in the Russian Revolutionary Movement. Persecuted by the Police, Tchaykovsky left Russia. The Revolution of 1905 made it possible for him to return home. Until now Tchaykovsky, at the age of 68, plays a very important role in Russia's political and social life, being one of the leaders of Peasant and Coöperative Movements.

them among students in the provinces. In a few years there was not a town of importance in 'thirty-eight provinces of the Russian Empire,' to use official language, where this Circle did not have a group of comrades engaged in the spreading of that sort of literature."*

Speaking further of this Circle, Kropotkin adds: "We often spoke, of course, of the necessity of a political agitation against our absolute government. We saw already that the mass of the peasants were being driven to unavoidable and irremediable ruin by foolish taxation, and by still more foolish selling off of their cattle to cover the arrears of taxes. We 'visionaries' saw coming that complete ruin of a whole population which by this time, alas, has been accomplished to an appalling extent in Central Russia, and is confessed by the government itself. We knew how, in every direction, Russia was being plundered in a most scandalous manner. We knew, and we learned more every day, of the lawlessness of the functionaries, and the almost incredible bestiality of many among them. We heard continually of friends whose houses were raided at night by the police, who disappeared in prisons, and who—we ascertained later on—had been transported without judgment to hamlets in some remote province of Russia. We felt, therefore, the necessity of a political struggle against this terrible power, which was crushing the best intellectual forces of the nation. But we saw no possible ground, legal or semi-legal, for such a struggle. . .

"Every young man of democratic tastes, every young woman following a course of higher education, was a suspect in the eyes of the State Police, and was denounced by Katkoff† as an enemy of the State. Cropped hair and blue spectacles worn by a girl, a Scotch plaid worn in winter by a student, instead of an overcoat, which were evidences of nihilist simplicity and democracy, were denounced as tokens of 'political unreliability.' If any student's lodging came to be frequently visited by other students, it was periodically invaded by the State

*Op. cit., p. 305.

†Katkoff, the Editor of the "Moscow Viedomosti," was one of the leading reactionary figures in Russia at that time.

Police and searched. So common were the night raids in certain students' lodgings that Kelnitz* once said, in his mildly humorous way, to the police officer who was searching the rooms: 'Why should you go through all our books, each time you come to make a search? You might as well have a list of them, and then come once a month to see if they are all on the shelves; and you might, from time to time, add the titles of the new ones.' The slightest suspicion of political unreliability was sufficient ground upon which to take a young man from a high school, to imprison him for several months, and finally to send him to some remote province of the Urals—'for an undetermined term,' as they used to say in their bureaucratic slang. Even at the time when the Circle of Tchaykovsky did nothing but distribute books, all of which had been printed with the censor's approval, Tchaykovsky was twice arrested and kept some four to six months in prison. . . . In fact, it was a favorite dream of Alexander II, to have somewhere in the steppes a special town, guarded night and day by patrols of Cossacks, where all suspected young people could be sent, so as to make of them a city of ten or twenty thousand inhabitants. Only the menace which such a city might some day offer prevented him from carrying out this truly Asiatic scheme."†

The Tchaykovsky Circle was helped in its propaganda by the students, who, expelled from the universities and scattered over Russia, had spread the seed of revolutionary thought. As a result, many circles, similar to the Tchaykovsky Circle, sprang up all over Russia.

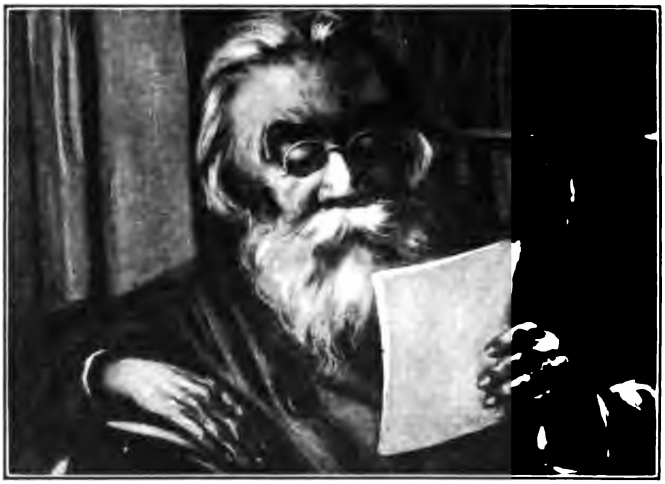
The spiritual center of the revolutionary movement at that time was Zurich, where the girl-students, who were not able to obtain higher education in Russia, had gone to study. Part of the expelled men-students had also gone there. These Zurich students held discussions, readings and daily lectures. A permanent lecturer at this colony was the famous revolutionary thinker and teacher, P. Lavrov, a former colonel and professor at the St. Petersburg Academy for Military Juris-

*Kelnitz is the fictitious name for Kropotkin's friend who introduced him to the Circle of Tchaykovsky.
†Op. cit., pp. 308-310.

NICHOLAY MOROZOV

Born in 1854. At nineteen joined Tchaykovsky's Circle. Was arrested in 1875 and imprisoned for two years. Joined the party "Land and Freedom," and, upon its dissolution,—the party "Will of the People." In 1880 went abroad, was arrested on the frontier and sentenced to hard labor for life. Served his sentence in the Fortress of Schlüsselburg. Altogether Morozov spent over twenty-five years in prison, being freed during the Revolution of 1905.

In prison Morozov occupied himself with scientific problems. After his release, he published many books: "Periodic Systems of the Composition of Matter," "D. I. Mendeleyev and the Significance of His Periodic System for the Future of Chemistry," "The Principles of Qualitative Physico-Mathematical Analysis" and many others, devoted partly to physico-mathematical and party to physico-chemical problems. These works were prepared principally during his stay in the Fortress. Morozov is still alive and working, in Russia



PETER LAVROV

prudence. Lavrov taught peaceful preparation of the masses for a future revolution.* Bakunin, on the other hand, was for immediate action. He argued for the organization of revolt, considering even small uprisings effective propaganda.

The Government, frightened at the increasing size of the colony at Zurich and the agitation of Lavrov and Bakunin, issued an order for all students to return to Russia by January 1, 1874. It held out threats of future difficulties for any who did not heed the Government's voice. It offered not to oppose the opening of institutions of higher education for women, in Russia.

The Zurich colony listened to the voice of authority for it realized its opportunity. The students returned, but they returned with the intention of going out among the people, not with the intent to study. Aiding the circles already in existence in Russia, they scattered among the peasants, to teach them and to propagate their social ideal.

But in a very short time this movement proved a failure. The students acted too openly, they did not take sufficiently precautionary measures against the police. Then, too, the

*Further details about Lavrov are given on pp. 180-186, in special chapter devoted to this spiritual leader of the Russian revolutionary movement.

peasants seemed to fear them, and in many cases betrayed them to the police. Within two or three months six hundred twelve men and one hundred fifty-eight women were arrested. The greater number were set free, but two hundred fifteen persons were imprisoned. They arrested daughters of noble families, youths of the middle classes, noblemen like Prince Kropotkin, and common workingmen. But, though the Government hunted these propagandists like common criminals, large circles of Russian society, which detested the Government's reactionary policy, assisted these young idealists in every possible way.

Then the Narodniki*, as these young idealists were called, realized that a better organization was essential. As a result two new groups came into existence. A group of peaceful Narodniki organized in Moscow. In St. Petersburg, the revolutionary Narodniki, together with the remnant of the Circle of Tchaykovsky, formed a society which later was called "Land and Freedom."

THE program of "Land and Freedom" was founded on the belief that only an economic revolution "from the bottom" could overthrow the existing social order and bring about the ideal State. Thus, having decided to work through the people, they divided their activities into the following groups: First,—the agitational activity,—which was to have two forms, active and passive. Active agitation was to express itself in bringing about riots and uprisings.† Passive agitation was to find expression in strikes, in sending petitions, refusing to pay taxes, etc. Second,—the organizing activity,—meant the formation of a fighting detachment, which would be in every way prepared to start a general uprising at the proper moment. The third point of their program consisted in the spreading of revolutionary ideas in society, among young people and among the city workers. The

*The English equivalent for Narodniki would be "for the people."

†Two young revolutionists, Deutch and Stefanovitch, actually went to Chigirin with forged Tzar's manifestoes, proclaiming that the Tzar had given the land to the peasants. This resulted in an uprising against the landowners.

GEORGE PLEKHANOV

fourth and last point of the program aimed to establish regular connections with the organizations of dissenters from the Orthodox Church.

"Land and Freedom" had a Constitution which declared the St. Petersburg group the center of the society. The members of the original group had the right to recommend outsiders for membership. There was a group to carry on propaganda among students and another group to agitate among the workers. There was a special group to employ armed force against traitors and the Government.

In December, 1876, "Land and Freedom" held its first demonstration in front of the Kazan Cathedral, St. Petersburg. They had planned to have thousands of workingmen on the scene, but only two or three hundred people gathered. The future founder of the Russian Social-Democracy, George Plekhanov, was the speaker for that occasion. However, the demonstrants were very quickly dispersed by a mob of petty merchants and janitors, the police had enlisted for the service. Twenty of the participants were arrested. Plekhanov, for-

tunately, was able to escape, abroad.* The arrested were tried. Some were exiled, and the rest were sentenced to hard labor for five or ten years.

Those members of "Land and Freedom" who had undertaken to propagate their ideas among the peasants failed again. They had learned something from their earlier experiences and knew better how to protect themselves against the police and treacherous peasants, but the message they brought was far beyond the comprehension of the peasants, and they decided to give up preaching revolution to them. Now they had either to live among the peasants as teachers pure and simple, or turn their activities into other channels. Circumstances decided this for them in due time.

The new war with Turkey, declared in 1877, with its blunders, with all the graft and dishonesty among the favored ones who had charge of provisioning the army, aroused a storm of indignation. Indignation at the constant embezzlement of State funds, the abuses and dishonesty of the commissariat, was especially keen among the revolutionists and the liberals in the Zemstvos, especially among the Zemstvos in the war zone, where, close to the field of operations, they themselves saw many instances of graft and treachery.

During this general dissatisfaction, the Government continued its policy of persecutions and severe penalties, so that the revolutionists were finally aggravated to answer terror for terror. The Chief of the Petrograd Police, Trepov, visited a house of detention where a number of political prisoners were being temporarily kept. One of the prisoners, Bogoliubov, did not remove his hat to greet this mighty personage, and Trepov ordered him flogged. The political prisoners were willing to endure any hardships for their cause, but corporal punishment was an indignity they refused to bear. Vera Zasulich, a young girl, who did not even know Bogoliubov personally, took it upon herself to avenge him. She took a revolver, found the Chief of Police, and shot at him. She only succeeded

*Further details about Plekhanov are given on pp. 216-224, in special chapter devoted to this spiritual leader of the Russian revolutionary movement.

VERA ZASULICH

in wounding him. Trepov was so hated in St. Petersburg that his enemies managed to have this brave girl's case tried before a common-law jury. In defense Vera Zasulich said she had made every possible attempt to bring these outrageous abuses before the public, but had not succeeded. Therefore she had resorted to this measure for bringing the inhuman treatment of political prisoners before the nation. She said she had even asked the St. Petersburg correspondent of the London "Times" to write up this affair for his paper, but he had refused, perhaps, because he did not believe such a state of affairs possible. The jury acquitted her. As she was leaving the court house, the police tried to rearrest her, but a crowd of St. Petersburg men interfered and saved her. She went abroad, joined the Russian colony in Switzerland, and later, together with George Plekhanov, P. Axelrod and Leo Deutch, organized the "Group for the Emancipation of Labor," which played such a significant role in the history of the Russian Revolutionary Movement. This Group finally developed into the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, which until now plays an important role in the Russian Revolution. Vera Zasulich is now an old woman and still plays her part in Russian political life.

Notwithstanding the general dissatisfaction in society, the Government's policy of repressions continued. A few instances will probably best illustrate the methods of the Government of Alexander II:

One young girl was sentenced to nine years' hard labor and life exile to Siberia for the crime of giving one socialist pamphlet to a worker. Another young girl, only fourteen, was sentenced to life exile in Siberia for trying to incite a mob to prevent the hanging of several revolutionists. This poor child drowned herself in the Yenesei. Many political prisoners

were first kept for years in central prisons, prisons so filthy, nests of disease, that the hardest life in Siberia would have been far preferable. Sometimes these prisoners would be driven to resort to the hunger strike to obtain a slight change in conditions that were driving many of them insane. Men and women, as a protest against conditions, would refuse food for a week and more, and become so weak that they would just lie motionless, with minds wandering. At the Kharkov prison, which was under the control of Governor-General Prince Dmitri Kropotkin, a cousin of the revolutionist, Peter Kropotkin, the prostrated prisoners were tied up with ropes and fed artificially.

The Narodniki were driven to measures of self-defense. The police system was paying spies to worm their way into revolutionary circles and then betray the members. Some retaliatory measures against the chief reactionaries seemed necessary. Serghei Kravchinsky, a young artillery officer, who under the name of Stepniak became widely known in England and in this country, assassinated Chief of Gendarmes, Gen. Mezentzov, on the streets of St. Petersburv. He committed this act in broad daylight, but was not caught. The previously mentioned Governor-General of Kharkov, Prince Dmitri Kropotkin, was shot by the revolutionists one night, as he was returning from the theatre.

The Government made an appeal to the public for its cooperation in suppressing the "rebels." This brought a response from the moderate elements of society. The Zemstvo workers who had themselves been hampered at every step, still believed that peaceful methods of persuasion might bring about a change in the Government's policy. The Zemstvo workers of several Southern provinces came together and held conferences in Kiev and Kharkov. They decided to ask the revolutionists to temporarily stop their terroristic activities, while peaceful measures were to be taken to influence the Government. The revolutionists knew that the Zemstvos had no chance of success, in dealing with the Government, and therefore, they refused. However, the Zemstvo members drew up resolutions pointing out to the Government that as long as

it ignored the rights and interests of the whole people, as long as it continued to violate the fundamental rights of peaceful citizens, the Zemstvo societies were unable to render any assistance. Many Zemstvo assemblies planned to draw up similar resolutions.

The Zemstvo of the Province of Tver drew up a resolution, in which it pointed out that the Emperor, after liberating the Bulgarians from the Turkish yoke, had seen fit to grant them self-government. He had guaranteed them freedom of the press, independence of the judiciary and inviolability of their personal rights. The Zemstvo of the Province of Tver ventured to hope that the Russian people, who had so willingly borne the burdens of the war, displaying throughout their love for their Liberator-Tzar, might be granted these same privileges, "which alone would enable them to enter, in the words of the Tzar, upon the path of gradual, peaceful and legitimate development."

At the assembly of the Chernigov Zemstvo, I. I. Petrunkevitch, in a rousing speech, pointed out all the abuses of the autocratic Government. He attacked Dmitri Tolstoy's fanatical, narrow-minded measures, he pointed to the infringement of the right of free speech, to the repressive measures against the press, and ended with a resolution that as long as such conditions prevailed society could not come to the assistance of the Government.

The Government forbade the discussion of such subjects at Zemstvo assemblies and threatened punishment. In 1879 and 1880 many secret Zemstvo assemblies were held. The Government kept its word. It began to arrest the active members of this movement. Petrunkevitch was arrested and condemned to exile in the Province of Kostroma.

In 1879 there came a split in the "Land and Freedom" society. The extreme wing of the party had held a conference at Lipetsk and had decided to organize a special "Executive Committee," for terroristic acts against the Government. The society came together for a conference at Voronezh to discuss a revision of its program. Then those members who had met previously at Lipetsk presented their resolution,

calling for the organization of the "Executive Committee." The majority of the members approved the Lipetsk resolution. A small group of Narodniki, under the leadership of George Plekhanov, declared themselves in favor of the old program, in favor of social propaganda, and refused to take part in terroristic activities. The small group became known as the party of the "Black Repartition," whereas the large group, under the name of the "Will of the people," made its terroristic activities strongly felt during the next two years.

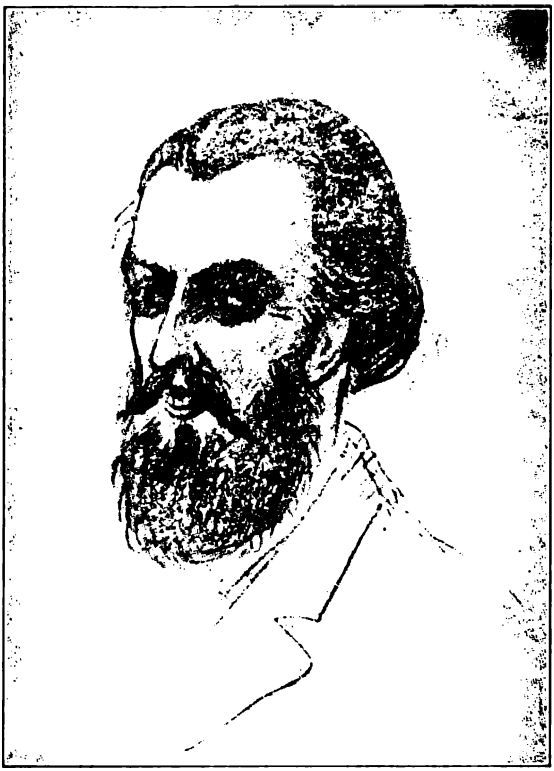
The "Will of the people" decided that the assassination of Alexander II would result in a general revolution. A number of attempts on the life of the Tzar failed, but succeeded in spreading terror in all Government circles.

On February 4, 1880, the "Executive Committee" made an attempt to blow up the Winter Palace. The explosion was timed to occur just as the Tzar's family would take their seats at the dinner table. But the Prince of Bulgaria, who was to have been present at this dinner, arrived half an hour late. This mere chance postponed the dinner, and saved the lives of the entire Imperial family.

However, this proved to Alexander II the inefficiency of his whole police system and the cleverness of the revolutionists. Extreme fear for his life made him seek the council of his advisers. His son, the heir, Tzarevitch Alexander, suggested the formation of an investigating commission with full powers. Alexander considered the suggestion and created a dictatorship, vesting unlimited powers in Loris-Melikoff, the Governor-General of Kharkov, a man then known as a liberal. The people began to hope that a National Assembly would soon be convoked as a result of this appointment. However, whether Loris-Melikoff considered a constitutional form of government, or not, because, as some say, he considered Russia not ready for it, Alexander's vacillating policy did not give Melikoff a chance to do much. In six months he was no longer dictator but Minister of Interior. There had been an apparent lull in the terroristic activities of the revolutionists, and Melikoff had taken it for evidence that they had decided to give up

these measures entirely. He had reported so to the Tzar, and the Tzar, regaining confidence, had abolished the dictatorship.

A little over a year after the attempt on the Winter Palace,



A. I. ZHELIABOV

Executed April 3, 1881, for participation in assassination of Alexander II.

the revolutionists finally succeeded in carrying out their plan to assassinate Alexander II. Melikoff had warned him that there was a chance of an attempt being made on his life, when he set

N. I. KIBALTICH

T. M. MIKHAILOV

N. I. GRINEVITSKY
Threw the bomb which killed
Alexander II and himself.

SOPHIA PEROVSKAYA

Participants in the Assassination of Alexander II
(from old photographs)
Executed April 3, 1881.

out tc review the troops on Sunday morning, March 1, 1881. But he went, nevertheless. On the way back to the Winter Palace he was killed. At a signal given by Sophia Perovskaya, Risakov flung a bomb under the Emperor's carriage. The bottom of the carriage was damaged and several of the Cossack guards were wounded. The Tzar was not injured. The coachman wanted to drive right on to the Palace, but Alexander insisted upon alighting. He felt that he was called upon to say something to the wounded Cossacks. He also approached Risakov and said something to him. In answer to the inquiries of some of his escort, he was just saying, "Thank God, I am untouched," when another terrorist, N. I. Grinevitsky, shouting, "It's too soon to thank God!" threw a bomb right between Alexander and himself. Both lived only a few hours.

In April, the participants in this assassination, Sophia Perovskaya, Risakov, Zheliabov, Kibaltich and Mikhailov were executed.

Everyone of these young terrorists deserves a most elaborate characterization. All of them were young idealists, sacrificing their lives for what they understood as of best service to their people, to their country, to the principle of liberty and democracy. Unfortunately we cannot devote space enough for such a characterization and must limit ourselves to a few words about Sophia Perovskaya, who was one of the leading figures in the above-mentioned historical act.

Sophia Perovskaya was the daughter of a very aristocratic family. Her grandfather had been Minister of the Interior and her father—Military General of St. Petersburg. The Perovsky family were descendants of the Empress Elizabeth, by a morganatic marriage.

As a child Sophia Perovskaya's education had been very much neglected. She was not taught to read until she was eight years old, and at fourteen her education was considered completed. However, she somehow became interested in serious books. When her family moved to St. Petersburg from the Crimea, where she had spent her early years, she entered the gymnasium. Here she became acquainted with several girls who were interested in the radical movement. When

her father objected to these friendships, she left home. She was only sixteen at that time.

It was Sophia Perovskaya who was chiefly instrumental in founding the circle of self-education that later became known as the Circle of Tchaykovsky. Prince Peter Kropotkin, who, as we mentioned before, was a member of this circle, speaks of the personality and activities of Sophia Perovskaya in his "Memoirs of a Revolutionist": "Meetings of our circle were frequent, and I never missed them. We used to meet in a suburban part of St. Petersburg, in a small house of which Sophia Perovskaya, under the assumed name and the fabricated passport of an artisan's wife, was the supposed tenant. . . Now, in the capacity of an artisan's wife, in her cotton dress and men's boots, her head covered with a cotton kerchief, as she carried on her shoulders her two pails of water from the Neva, no one would have recognized in her the girl who a few years before shone in one of the most fashionable drawing-rooms of the Capital.

"She was a general favorite, and every one of us, on entering the house, had a specially friendly smile for her, even when she, making a point of honor of keeping the house relatively clean, quarreled with us about the dirt which we, dressed in peasant top-boots and sheepskins, brought in, after walking the muddy streets of the suburbs. She tried then to give to her girlish, innocent, and very intelligent little face the most severe expression possible to it. In her moral conceptions she was a 'rigorist,' but not in the least of the sermon-preaching type. When she was dissatisfied with some one's conduct she would cast a severe glance at him from beneath her brows; but in that glance one saw her open-minded, generous nature, which understood all that is human. On one point only she was inexorable. 'A women's man,' she once said, speaking of some one, and the expression and the manner in which she said it, without interrupting her work, are engraved forever in my memory.

"Perovskaya was a 'popularist' to the very bottom of her heart, and at the same time a revolutionist, a fighter of the truest steel. She had no need to embellish the workers and

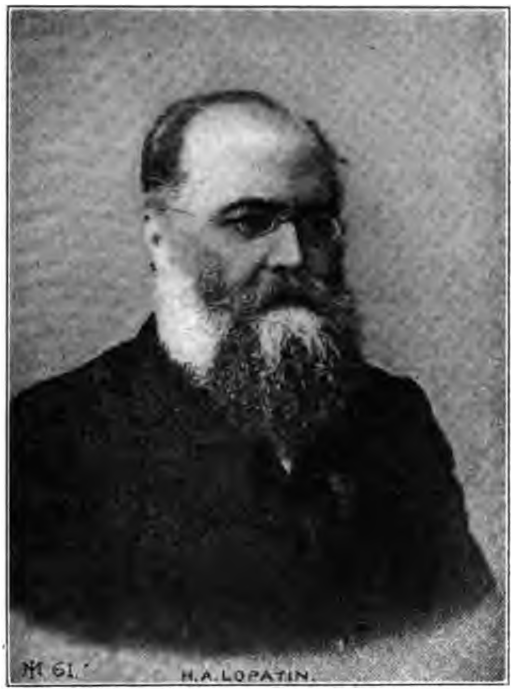
the peasants with imaginary virtues, in order to love them and to work for them. She took them as they were, and said to me once: 'We have begun a great thing. Two generations, perhaps, will succumb in the task, and yet it must be done.' "*

To carry out the ideal of the Tchaykovsky Circle, to go among the people to teach them, Sophia Perovskaya prepared herself to become a village teacher. In her wandering life, from one village to another, she sometimes suffered great privations. In November, 1873, while engaged in propaganda work among the workers in a suburb of St. Petersburg, Sophia Perovskaya was arrested, but was liberated on a bail of 5,000 rubles.

After taking a course in nursing at Simferopol, she returned to her former activities. She was arrested again and this time exiled to the Province of Olonetsk. In 1878 she escaped and returned to St. Petersburg. There she joined the society "Land and Freedom." In November, 1879, she participated in an attempt to blow up the Imperial train, on its way to St. Petersburg from Moscow. The attempt failed. On her return to St. Petersburg she joined the terrorist group, the "Will of the People."

As we have said before, it was Sophia Perovskaya who gave the signal on March 1, 1881, for throwing the bomb under the carriage of Alexander II. She was not caught at the time and might have escaped abroad, but she made no attempt to do so, and on March 10th she was arrested. In April of that same year, Sophia Perovskaya, who was only 27 years old, was hanged for her part in the assassination of Alexander II.

*Op. cit., pp. 317-318.



CHAPTER IV

H. A. Lopatin—A Typical Russian Revolutionist of the Sixties.

RUSSIA'S revolutionary story, and especially the story of the heroic epoch of the sixties, seventies and eighties, is full of most interesting human material showing the height of the idealism of Russia's youth, which then entered into open conflict with the regime of the Tzars.

Out of this material, impossible to present in a short review of the Russian Revolutionary Movement, we will take the story of a single life, which, probably, in itself reflects the romantic beauty, the lofty idealism of this epoch,—we will take the story of Herman Alexandrovich Lopatin.

H. A. Lopatin was of noble parentage. He was born in the city of Nizhni-Novgorod, on January 13, 1845.

In 1862 Lopatin entered the University of St. Petersburg as a student of biology. During his college days he showed himself a natural-born leader and always represented his classmates on all embarrassing occasions. He was so full of life and buoyant spirits that he won the friendship and love of most of the students. In 1866 he completed his course, after having written a thesis on the subject of *voluntary conception*, a subject which, at that time, had been but very little investigated. The subject matter was treated in such an exhaustive manner and his arguments in defense of his position were so brilliant, that despite the fact that the young writer disagreed with all of his opponents on theoretical grounds, he was offered a post in the university. But the prospect of living the life of a savant, isolated from the world of action, had very little lure for his live temperament, and so he declined the honor.

The revolutionist had already awakened in Lopatin, and in 1867 he went abroad, intending to participate in Garibaldi's new attack on Rome, but the tide of events proved more rapid than he expected. Before he had a chance to get there, the battle of Menton had been fought, on November 3, 1867, and Garibaldi had been taken captive. This had put an end to the enterprise. During this trip Lopatin made the acquaintance of Alexander Hertzen. After spending a short time abroad, Lopatin returned to St. Petersburg and took part in the "Roublevoye Obshchestvo." Moderate as the aim of this society was—just teaching the rural population how to read and write—the government saw in it great dangers for itself, and began to persecute its members. Lopatin was arrested and, after serving a short term in prison, was exiled to Stavropol, in 1869, where he was supposed to be under the surveillance of the police. There he succeeded in securing employment with the Governor, whom he won by his erudition and character, although he did not conceal his views from him.

In the midst of this peaceful work Lopatin was again arrested. A friend of his had been searched, and a letter

from Lopatin found, in which he said that he was tired of his life in the Province "entrusted to his care" and that he intended to go abroad to see how the good folks were getting along in America.

At the trial he answered questions with such frankness and straightforwardness that the youth of the country, for a long time, regarded his manner as the model conduct worthy of a man of firm convictions. Soon after he escaped, choosing for his escape a day on which one of the most abominable representatives of the worst class of Russia's officials was patrolling the prison. He had plenty of friends everywhere and he had to hide "underground" for some time. Then began his life as an "outlaw." In the beginning of 1870 he was in St. Petersburg, and in the spring he left for Paris. In the fall of 1870 Lopatin went back to Russia with a definite plan which he had elaborated in Switzerland.

Thrown in close contact with the Russian emigrants gathered in Switzerland, he was startled by their lack of unanimity, the petty intrigues and personal squabbles amidst which they lived. Lopatin thought that the Russian emigrants in Switzerland only needed an authoritative leader, under whose influence all petty differences would disappear and the emigrants become a really useful part of the revolutionary movement. At that time only one man was considered by Russian intellectuals as qualified to lead the majority of the active revolutionary groups. This man was the famous economist and publicist, Nicholai Gavrilovitch Chernyshevsky, who was then in exile in Siberia. Lopatin started for Russia, to free him, to take him abroad and place him in the center of the Russian emigrant colony, so that he might organize and guide the comrades gathered there.

When starting out on his daring venture, Lopatin evidently had no clear idea either as to what place in Siberia held Nicholai G. Cherynshevsky or the conditions under which he was living. Arming himself with minute maps and all the data regarding Siberia that he could possibly gather, he secured some money and left the working out of the

details of his plan of action to the needs of the moment. He remained for a short time in St. Petersburg, and then left for Irkutsk. In Siberia he traveled by stage coach. He represented himself as a member of a geographical society and explained his trip as undertaken for scientific purposes. He had many an occasion for offering this explanation, as talk with the inhabitants of the various parts of Siberia was the only source from which he could possibly learn the whereabouts of Chernyshevsky, upon which depended the success of his undertaking. Therefore, he constantly tried to join this or that group of travelers in the hope that from conversation with them he would learn things that might be of use to him. The further East he went the greater the number of acquaintances he made, all of whom were interested in his conversation and the news. Some of these acquaintances noticed that his conversation often had the character of questioning. The suspicion sprang up that he was an official inspector sent to Siberia to report conditions there. The rumors about him traveled ahead of him. When he came to Irkutsk he found himself the talk of the city and known as a mysterious traveler. Just at that time a telegram reached Irkutsk from a Geneva "informer" to the effect that Lopatin was on his way to Siberia to free Chernyshevsky. Until now it is not known how the spy got his information. At any rate, the result was that Lopatin was arrested in Irkutsk just when he learned that Chernyshevsky was in Viluysk, under the strictest surveillance.

In prison Lopatin came in close touch with the various inmates and his superiors. His fellow prisoners soon came to like him for his good humor, his legal advice and his great physical strength. Through them Lopatin gathered information about the locality, with the object of escaping. Two attempts failed. One of these unsuccessful attempts was based on a plan extremely daring, and its execution was remarkable for the ingenuity and resourcefulness which he displayed. After overcoming tremendous obstacles he was recognized by a police officer on the streets of Tomsk. He assumed the air of an innocent and respectable citizen who was insulted by

the very thought of being mistaken for Lopatin, and not only did he not hesitate to go to the Governor, but insisted on it. He almost persuaded the Governor that it was a mistake on the part of the police officer, but the latter produced Lopatin's photograph from his pocket. However, this did not disconcert Lopatin. He took the photograph, examined it critically, and then remarked that in his opinion the picture bore greater resemblance to Lincoln than to himself. The Governor was again convinced, but the police officer was obstinate and told the Governor in a low whisper that he could prove Lopatin's identity by taking him to a man who knew him. As a result, Lopatin was sent back to prison.

He soon made another attempt which proved successful. One day he was summoned to the prison office to answer some questions, put to him in writing. Having written a lengthy reply, he asked to be escorted back to prison. In front of the office stood a saddled horse. In the twinkling of an eye Lopatin jumped on the horse and galloped away. His guards were so startled by the spontaneity of the act that they made no move to pursue him, but just stood gasping, dumbfounded. He dashed out of the city and was hidden in the suburbs, and later at the homes of his friends in Irkutsk proper, while the authorities searched for him throughout Siberia. In a short time he joined a group of drivers who were going to European Russia. He behaved, worked and spoke like the rest of them, and the only thing that puzzled his companions was his near-sightedness, a defect rare among the peasants. In 1873 he arrived in St. Petersburg and with the aid of his friends went to Zurich.

Abroad he found the Russian emigrants busily engaged in revolutionary work. Though he had many friends among the various factions, he did not join any of them, but helped all with his advice. From time to time Lopatin went to Russia to meet his co-workers and to get acquainted with conditions there. In 1877, during his stay in Russia, he was betrayed by a man whom he had trusted. He was arrested and imprisoned again. In 1883 he escaped from Vologda, and after a brief stay in St. Petersburg, where he was greatly

shocked by the demoralizing influence of the reign of Alexander III, he went to Paris. There he took it upon himself to participate in the execution of the revolutionists' sentence upon Soudeykin, Chief of the Third Section of the Department of Police. On December 16 of the same year, he shot Soudeykin. Immediately after he returned to Paris, and worked assiduously in the interests of the Revolution. On December 17, 1884, he was arrested in St. Petersburg. After spending two and a half years in prison awaiting trial, he was finally handed over to the St. Petersburg Court-Martial, together with twenty comrades. The trial lasted from May 26, 1887, until June 4.

Following is the final address which Lopatin delivered before the judges:

"Gentlemen of the Jury! There was a time in Russia when the court rooms were the only place where free and frank words were spoken, where people who went to their death spoke their thoughts and criticised the existing order without fear or hindrance. But this time has long passed, and it will never come again. Now there is no reason why we should speak honestly and fervently. We are kept in this place of torture for years before our trial, and in the same place are we tried and have our last say. We know that not one sympathizing heart will beat in response to our words; we know that the echo of our passionate speech will die away fruitlessly in this empty hall.

"Do not be angry if at this moment I tell you the truth: Even you, judges of the Court-Martial, I cannot recognize as my legal judges. You are the representatives of a partial group and you cannot judge me impartially and soberly. But I believe—and this is the only faith that consoles me in all the darkest moments of my life—that over all of us, you included, there is a higher Court which in time will pronounce its honest and truthful verdict. This court of justice is history. In view of all this, I shall not only not defend myself, but will not even explain to you the true meaning and significance of what I have done. I shall only

explain why, throughout the preliminary cross-examinations to which I was subjected, I did not admit that I was a member of the party of the 'Will of the People' and that I was an official agent of the Executive Committee. Now I shall tell you openly: Yes, I was an agent of the Executive Committee. All that I have said before is the absolute truth—yes, my spirit which was longing to be free could not get reconciled to the fetters of any organization. It revolted against being limited by any definite program, definite understanding of the aims, the problems and ways of revolutionary activity. But some concessions were granted me, in view of my services in the past. Now, then, why did I persist in refusing to admit that I was a member of the 'Will of the People' in the face of my enemies? I did not want that my freedom of speech should be hampered pending the trial and during the trial. I would not have had the right to say many a thing which I could say as a private individual. Besides, you must remember, gentlemen, that I who was until now proud of my clean record, have now suffered such a terrible, such a disgraceful defeat, a defeat which has broken my pride. I have in mind those unfortunate addresses. I have with my own hand destroyed that which I created with my other hand. Yes, this has been a terrible defeat and I have succeeded in only partially expiating it. I could not, I did not have the courage to openly admit that I was a member of the Executive Committee, while I was in such a difficult position. But now, at this moment, when my heart is probably not going to beat very much longer, I admit the fact. At the present moment it is absolutely immaterial to me whether or not you pronounce me an accomplice in the assassination of Soudeykin. Perhaps I am guilty, and perhaps not—it is up to you to decide. At any rate, you do not take much upon yourself if you find me guilty of participation in this assassination. Morally I have certainly been guilty of it. But whatever I may have done, I regret I have done so little. I shall not ask for mercy, and am sure that I will be able to die just as courageously as I have lived."

Together with a number of his friends, Lopatin was sen-

tenced to death. But the sentence was commuted to life at hard labor and imprisonment in the fortress of Schlüsselburg. Lopatin spent 18 years in this fortress prison. In 1905 he was freed by the amnesty granted political offenders. The young men and women of St. Petersburg arranged a grand ovation.

He is now 73 years old.

CHAPTER V

The Reaction During the Reign of Alexander III

THE successor to Alexander II, Alexander III, had definitely expressed himself against constitutional plans at a conference which his father had called a week before the Winter Palace explosion.

In the end of January, 1881, Loris-Melikoff had presented a report to Alexander II in which he had declared his belief about the untimeliness and impossibility of granting any form of constitution to the people, but had urged the Emperor to satisfy the desire of certain representatives of the people to share in State activity. He had suggested inviting men in public life to co-operate in the working out of State reforms. Melikoff had drawn up a plan, and Alexander II had approved it on the morning of his assassination.

A conference to consider Loris-Melikoff's plan had been set for March 4. Alexander III at first considered himself in duty bound to regard his father's wishes in this matter. On March 8, he held a conference with his Ministers. Opinion was pretty much divided, but Alexander III plainly showed his sympathy with those Ministers who would have none of those reforms. C. Pobiedonostzev, a former tutor of the Tzar, and enjoying his confidence, made an impassioned speech predicting revolutions and an end to Russia if Loris-Melikoff's project went into effect. The matter remained undecided for some time. Finally Pobiedonostzev convinced Alexander III that public opinion was not demanding any such reforms, that the revolutionary movement drew its strength, not from the country, but from sources close to the supreme power. It was plain he meant Loris-Melikoff and other liberals. It ended in Pobiedonostzev being secretly commissioned to draw up a manifesto that would show the people, once for all, the Government's firm stand.

On April 29, 1881, to the surprise of the liberals, the Mani-

festo appeared. In part it read: "In the midst of our great grief, the voice of God commands us to stand bravely at the helm of the Government, to trust in Divine Providence, with faith in the power and truth of the Absolutism which, for the benefit of the people, we are called upon to strengthen and safeguard from any invasion."

These words were universally interpreted to mean that no constitutional institutions would be considered, that the principle of Absolutism was to be the foundation of the Government's policy. The liberal Ministers resigned. The newly appointed Ministers were very conservative, but still not altogether reactionary.

The Manifesto of April 29, however, promised to continue the reforms of the previous reign. In fact, the new Minister of Interior, Ignatiev, sent out a circular on the very day of his appointment that practically amounted to the program suggested by Loris-Melikoff. He intimated that the Government desired to establish close relations with the people, and that local men would be called upon to share in affairs of State. He warned the peasants against giving heed to rumors, promising them that their rights and liberties would be protected, that measures would be taken to alleviate the taxation burden, to statisfy their want of land, and to improve the structure of the rural administrations.

After a number of semi-ameliorative reforms that showed that Alexander III was balancing between a moderate-liberal policy and a definite reaction, Pobiedonostzev succeeded in persuading the Tzar to absolutely discard his policy of making concessions to public opinion. The reactionary, Dmitri Tolstoy, who had been dismissed during Loris-Melikoff's dictatorship, was now appointed Minister of Interior. His accession to this important post marked the beginning of the terrible reaction that lasted to the end of the reign of Alexander III.

VERA FIGNER

A member of the Executive Committee of the Party "Will of the People." In 1883 was sentenced to imprisonment in the Fortress of Schlüsselburg. After spending 22 years in prison, was released during the Revolution of 1905.

In 1883, through the treachery of the revolutionist Degaiev, the Government was enabled to capture those members of the "Will of the People" who had thus far remained at liberty.*

Thereafter Dmitri Tolstoy was given full power, which he used first of all in influencing the Minister of Education, Delianov, to restore all the reactionary tendencies in this Department, which Tolstoy had himself managed for sixteen years, under Alexander II. The universities were deprived of any form of autonomy. No student organizations were to be permitted. If the students showed any rebellious spirit they were to be reduced to the rank of soldiers; in all events they were to be treated with extreme severity. The programs of the faculties of law and philology were altered to suit the will of the new Minister. A circular, sent out by the Minister of Education, practically ordered that all children of the lower classes be eliminated from the secondary schools, the gymnasia.

The reactionary landowners, those who had fought every vestige of peasant-reform, now had every assurance of full support in the safeguarding of their own class interests. So much so, that the peasants began to fear that the old days of serfdom were to be resurrected.

In fact, all the reforms of previous years were now mutilated. The Zemstvos were practically put under the sole control of the nobility, so greatly was the number of peasant delegates reduced. Revisions were made in the system of elections to the Zemstvos, revisions, the purpose of which was the re-

*Besides being known as a traitor, Degaiev is known in the history of the Russian revolutionary movement as the murderer of Soudeykin, the Chief of the Third Section of the Department of Police. Soudeykin conceived the plan of visiting revolutionaries in prison to try to persuade them to become spies, in the service of the Government, and betray their comrades. He succeeded with Degaiev, who had been imprisoned for taking part in the operation of a secret printing plant. Degaiev agreed to enter Soudeykin's service and was released from prison. Pretending he had escaped, he was immediately welcomed back to the ranks of the "Will of the People." He gained the confidence of the leaders and not only betrayed numbers of them, but even implicated sympathizers. It is said that he even organized circles of youths and then betrayed them. Having formerly been an officer, he was able to gain the confidence of the officers at Kronstadt and betray many of them. Vera Figner, L. A. Volkenstein and other leading members of the "Will of the People" were arrested through the betrayal of Degaiev. The numerous arrests led the revolutionists to suspect a traitor in their ranks. Finally suspicion fell upon Degaiev. Degaiev fled to Geneva. There he was recognized by one of the revolutionists. Afraid that he would be taken to account, he offered to return to Russia and assassinate Soudeykin. This deed was finally accomplished in his house in St. Petersburg, on December 16, 1883.

viving of the old class privileges. In 1889 a new law practically destroyed the judiciary reforms of previous years.

L. A. VOLKENSTEIN

As Procurator of the Holy Synod, Alexander's evil genius, Pobiedonostzev, instituted a form of religious and race persecution that closely resembled the Spanish Inquisition. The various non-orthodox sects were forbidden to build their temples and even to perform worship. Often children were torn away from their parents so that the Government might assure their growing up in the orthodox faith. Pobiedonostzev poured forth his wrath also against the Poles and the Jews, particularly the Jews. The Poles were deprived of the right to hold Government positions in the Western provinces and in Poland.

In 1882, the Jews, who theretofore had had the right to live only within the limits of the Pale of Settlement, were forbidden to live outside of the cities and towns, even within the Pale. In 1887 a law was passed whereby the number of Jewish children entering the schools could be only a definite percentage of all other pupils enrolled. Two years later another law prevented Jews from becoming Sworn Attorneys; Assistant Attorney was as high as any Jewish student would now be permitted to advance. In 1891 seventeen thousand Jewish artisans,

who had previously had the right to live outside of the Pale of Settlement, were driven out of Moscow.

Needless to say that the press was also made to feel the hand of oppression. The Minister of Interior, the Minister of Justice, the Procurator of the Holy Synod and the Minister of Education, jointly, were constituted a tribunal with the power to suppress any organ that showed symptoms of anti-governmental tendencies, and to forbid the editor thereof from ever editing again. It was a very common occurrence for a publication to be forbidden retail sale. In fact, extremely few liberal organs were able to last any length of time.

To the end of his reign Alexander III, in his internal policy, remained under the thumb of Pobiedonostzev.

CHAPTER VI

The Revolutionary and Liberal Movement During the Early Years of the Reign of Nicholas II

NICHOLAS II, the son of Alexander III, the last of the Romanoffs, overthrown by the Revolution of March, 1917, had been brought up in an atmosphere vitiated by the soullessness and obscurantism of Pobiedonostzev. Yet, the very fact of a new Tzar ascending the throne, revived hope in the liberal circles of society.

Various Zemstvos appointed deputations to congratulate Nicholas II. An address presented by a representative of the Tver Zemstvo, in its most radical part, said: "We permit ourselves to hope that the voice of the people and the expression of its desires will be heard on the heights of the Throne and will be listened to. We are absolutely convinced that the welfare of Russia will make strides under your rule, and that from now on the law will be respected and obeyed, not only by the nation alone, but also by the representatives of the power that govern it. The law . . . should be above the changing views of the individual representatives of this sublime power."

The addresses presented by the representatives of other Zemstvos were far less outspoken than this, and this address, as can be seen, was far from revolutionary. But the Tzar, in a short speech, rebuked the Tver Zemstvo, and shattered the people's hopes of any constitutional reform. He called the hopes, expressed by the Zemstvos, for co-operation in State affairs "senseless dreams," and declared that the principle of Absolutism would be firmly maintained by him, and would not be deviated from any more than in the reign of his father.

The people swayed between disappointment and indignation. It was very evident that Pobiedonostzev was to be permitted to continue his reign of darkness. The revolutionists, who had been completely disheartened, saw now the opportunity to revive their movement, through the union of all the dissatisfied forces. In an open letter dated "St. Petersburg,

January 19, 1885," but really printed abroad, they answered the autocratic speech of Nicholas II, and informed him that from now on it was their duty to fight the "hateful order of things" to the bitter end, by every and any means, for Nicholas himself had started the struggle. Their words "it will not be long before you find yourself entangled by it" have indeed proven prophetic.

Pobiedonostzev, given free reign, filled the Ministries with men after his own heart, heaped up the torments and persecutions for the religious sects, hindered and restricted the activities of the Zemstvos in their work of alleviating the terrible conditions of the peasantry, and roused to bitter, revolutionary spirit the people of Finland, the Armenians and the Georgians, people who had heretofore lived peacefully and had taken almost no part in any oppositional movement.

The Zemstvos were seeking to establish schools and hospitals, trying to inaugurate more scientific methods in the care of cattle, forcing factories to give the workers sanitary conditions for their work, altogether measures too enlightened and bound to interfere with the obscurantist policies of Pobiedonostzev and his servile followers. The Zemstvos were forbidden to discuss any political questions in their assemblies, but the all but silenced press, the infringement of all civil rights, the absolute disregard of the desiderata of the people, forced them to give vent to their feelings in the privacy of these assemblies. Von Plehve, the new Minister of Interior, exiled the outspoken members and closed up the assemblies.

Such liberals as Prince D. Shakhovskoy, Princes Peter and Paul Dolgorukov, Professor Paul Milyukov, F. Kokoshkin, V. Nabokov and a number of well-known Zemstvo workers,—among them I. Petrunkevitch and F. Rodichev,—were driven to found a special party to agitate for constitutional reform. This liberal party, called the "Union of Liberation," issued, in Stuttgart, a special organ, "Liberation," under the editorship of Peter Struve, a prominent economist and publicist.

Those were the years when Leo Tolstoy's voice thundered forth again and again, often calling upon the civilized world in behalf of the persecuted races and creeds. In 1897 the

Holy Synod declared the followers of Leo Tolstoy a sect "especially dangerous for the Orthodox Church and the State." Then in 1900, the Holy Synod, with all the ceremonial of olden days, excommunicated Leo Tolstoy from the Orthodox Church.

It was Von Plehve's aspiration "to drown the Revolution in Jewish blood" and Pobiedonostzev's "to force one-third of the Jews to conversion, another third to emigrate," to escape his inquisition, and as for the rest,—he believed they would surely die of hunger. In an endeavor to keep the Jewish children from education, regulations were established, according to which the secondary schools, the gymnasia, within the Pale of Settlement could not accept more than ten per cent. of Jewish pupils, whereas in those without the Pale, the Jewish pupils were restricted to five per cent. of the number in the school. The universities were permitted to accept only three per cent. The Pale of Settlement was continually reduced, so that congestion, and the poverty resulting from the struggle for existence under innumerable restrictions, might ultimately decimate these people. Those were the days of "pogroms," and the horrors of the Kishineff massacre made all civilized peoples, the world over, shudder. The Poles and all the other non-Orthodox peoples were more or less made to feel the holy wrath of the Grand Inquisitor. The Holy Synod did his bidding entirely.

The interference with the religious beliefs of the Georgians and the Armenians, in the Caucasus region, the confiscation of Armenian Church-lands and Church-funds, drove vast numbers of them into the revolutionary movement. Von Plehve and Pobiedonostzev continued to sponsor every inquisitorial measure.

In the meantime, capitalistic production, which had begun to develop in Russia after the liberation of the serfs, had attracted and brought to the cities the poorest peasants, those who could not make their living by tilling the small bit of land they possessed. The natural process of capitalistic development brought into existence in Russia, as in other countries, the most revolutionary class of modern society, the

proletariat. This class was destined to lead the Russian Revolution, supported by great masses of the poor peasantry and by the various nationalities, oppressed by the Tzar's regime.

Observing the tendencies of the new industrial development, the growth of the proletariat in the cities, and knowing the revolutionary role already played by the proletariat in the west-European countries, George Plekhanov and his followers came to the conclusion that the best way to prepare for revolution in Russia was to carry on propaganda among the workingmen in the cities.

As we have said before, Plekhanov, together with P. Axelrod, Vera Zasulich and Leo Deutch, organized, abroad, the famous, in the history of the Russian Revolutionary Movement, "Group for the Emancipation of Labor." This group spread the theory of Marxian scientific Socialism, in Russia. In 1898 the "Group for the Emancipation of Labor" developed into the Russian Social-Democratic Workingmen's Party.

Count Serghei Witte, as Minister of Finance, had the year previously exerted himself to bring back the working people into the bosom of the paternal Government, by introducing a law "limiting" the working day to eleven and a half hours. The Government went even further in its attempt to keep the workers away from the influence of the socialist propagandists. It organized a chain of labor societies, under the direct protection of the police. Its aim, of course, was the protection of the interests of the workers. To show its "sincerity" it even organized strikes. The employers were not a bit pleased by these activities of the police. Finally one strike, in Odessa, spread so rapidly that it got entirely beyond the control of the agents of the police, who had organized it. When it reached that point the police could not afford to play its part any longer, and much blood was shed. Then the workers realized the meaning of labor societies, under police control.

While the workingmen in the cities became more and more interested in the Social-Democratic Workingmen's Party, the peasants, in as far as they began to be influenced by revolutionary propaganda, came under the influence of the Party of

N. C. MIKHAILOVSKY

Famous critic, publicist and sociologist. An opponent of the theories which underestimate the importance of the individual in the process of natural and social development,—such as the theories of Spencer, Darwin and Marx. For decades Mikhailovsky was considered the spiritual leader of the Narodniki wing of the Russian Revolutionary Movement. Died in 1904.

Socialists-Revolutionists, the successor in its program and tactics to the "Will of the People."

The Party of Socialists-Revolutionists had also many followers among the "intelligentsia." This Party was destined to play an important role in paving the way for the Revolutions of 1905 and 1917, and a still more important role in the Provisional Government, after the Revolution of 1917. Kerensky and such members of the Provisional Government as Chernov, Avksentieff and Savinkov belonged to the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists.

This Party, in its tactics, advocated revolutionary terror as an answer to the terror practised by the Tzar's Government. A special Fighting Organization was established by the Party, to execute the death sentences passed by its Central Committee. This Fighting Organization assassinated the Ministers of Interior, Sypiagin and Von Plehve; the Minister of Education, Bogolepov; the Governor of Ufa, Bogdanovich, and the Governor-General of Moscow, Grand Duke Serghei Alexandrovich. The names of the young heroes, the terrorists who sacrificed their lives fighting the enemies of their people.—the names Balmashev, Gershuni, Karpovich, Sazonov, Kaliaev and others,—will never die in the grateful memory of the Russian democracy. The activities of the Fighting Organization of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists and the personalities of its heroic members deserve a special mentioning even in a short history of the Russian Revolutionary Movement.

CHAPTER VII

The Activities of the Fighting Organization of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists

ONE of the first acts committed by the Fighting Organization occurred in 1902, when a young student, Stepan Balmashęv, dressed as an officer to escape detection, shot the reactionary Minister of Interior, Sypiagin, as the latter was entering the building of the Ministry. Sypiagin had been responsible for sixty thousand political arrests. He was responsible for the untold sufferings of many, many exiles. A few years before, in 1897, a young student, Karpovich, shot the reactionary Minister of Education, Bogolepov. In May, 1903, two members of the Fighting Organization, under the direction of Gershuni, shot Bogdanovich, the Governor of Ufa. And, in July, 1904, Sazonov carried out the death penalty against the Minister of Interior, Von Plehve, that right hand of Pobiedonostzev.

Stepan Balmashev was born on the 3rd of April, 1881, in the remote city, Pinega, in the far-off Province of Archangel, where his father was in exile. There little Stepan spent four years of his childhod, after which his parents returned to Saratov, on the Volga.

The boy was brought up under the guidance of his father, who was a liberal by conviction and who tried to educate his son so as to bring out what was best, noblest and most humane in him. In 1891 the boy entered the gymnasium, where he felt very lonesome at first. A little later he found himself the center of a group of the most capable and energetic boys. The editing of the school magazines, "Echo" and "First Experience," the reading of the Russian radical writers, Dobroliubov, Chernyshevsky, Lavrov, and the study of political economy and sociology absorbed all his time at this period of his life.

In 1899 Balmashev entered the University of Kazan, and a year later he transferred to the University of Kiev. There

he organized a fraternity called "Povolzhskoye Zemliachestvo," which later became an "underground university" for the preparation of active workers for the Russian political parties. He also became active in many other radical student organizations.

Soon a storm of wrath, from on high, burst on the students of Kiev, and in accordance with the decision of the Government, one hundred eighty-three students were sentenced to become privates in the army. Among those sentenced to serve as soldiers was Balmashev, who had led the other students.

In September, 1901, Balmashev again entered the University of Kiev, and soon organized the "Kiev Socialist Union," composed of his nearest friends and classmates. This Union had a definite program. After negotiations started in the fall of 1901, the Union formally joined the Kiev Committee of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists. This group soon became the central terrorist organ—the Fighting Organization of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists.

In September, this Organization sentenced to death the Minister of the Interior, Sypiagin, and the Procurator of the Holy Synod, Pobiedonostzev,—two of the foremost reactionary figures in the Tzar's Government, at that time.

In the middle of February, 1902, Balmashev secretly left Saratov and on March 24, he arrived in St. Petersburg. As we have said before, he shot Sypiagin as the latter was entering the building of the Ministry of the Interior. Balmashev was dressed in an officer's uniform, and this had made it possible for him to enter the building, unsuspected.

He died bravely. Time and again Dournovo, the Chief of the Department of Police, begged him to petition the Tzar to have his sentence commuted, but Balmashev refused.* "I see," he said, "that you find it more difficult to hang me than I find it to die. I want no favors from you. I would only

*The Government officials often asked prominent terrorists, sentenced to execution, to petition the Tzar for clemency, guaranteeing that such a petition would meet with success. They wanted thereby to discredit the revolutionary heroes by proving them weak, afraid of death. The revolutionists, in almost all cases, stood the test bravely, stoically facing death for liberty and the rights of the people.

STEPAN BALMASHEV

Member of the Fighting Organization of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists. Shot the reactionary Minister of Interior, Sypiagin. Executed on May 5, 1902.

PETER KARPOVICH

Member of the Fighting Organization of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists. In 1897 shot the reactionary Minister of Education, Bogolepov. Was confined in the Schlüsselburg Fortress. In 1906 was transferred to hard-labor prison in Siberia. Escaped from Siberia in March, 1907, and lived abroad up to the time of the March Revolution, in 1917. Immediately after the Revolution, attempting to return to Russia, Karpovich lost his life when a German submarine attacked the British vessel on which he was returning.

ask that you give me a strong rope. You don't even know how to hang one properly."

On May 5th, 1902, at 3 A. M., Balmashev was executed.

Student disturbances had been keeping the police busy all through the reign of Nicholas II, for the universities were hotbeds of socialism and revolution. The students were expelled from the universities, they were imprisoned, they were exiled to Siberia, but the spirit lived on and constantly gathered force. In 1899, as a protest against the knouting of a number of university students by the St. Petersburg police, thirteen thousand students, all over the country, went out on strike. The Tzar ordered everyone of these students forcibly enlisted in the army. Numbers of liberal professors in the Universities of Moscow, St. Petersburg and other cities were dismissed. After the disturbance in Kiev, in 1900, in which about one thousand students participated, five hundred were arrested. Again, almost two hundred were forcibly enlisted, and the rest were expelled from the university. Disturbances followed in other cities, but every time the Cossacks were sent out against the students, with orders to flog them without mercy. A demonstration before the Kazan Cathedral in St. Petersburg resulted in six men and one woman student killed, and numbers wounded by the police and the Cossacks. Then Peter Karpovich, a young student, a member of the Fighting Organization of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, shot the Minister of Education, Bogolepov, because Bogolepov was the man responsible for the extremely brutal manner in which the protesting students had been handled. But the public was so furious that even the assassination did not appease its righteous anger. The mothers, various writers, professors and other intelligent people signed protests which were showered upon the Government. Workingmen had participated in the demonstration before the Kazan Cathedral, and now they marched in the streets of numerous towns, shouting "Down with Absolutism!" A storm was brewing.

On the eighteenth of February, 1904, a group of members of

the Fighting Organization, led by a young terrorist, Grigory Gershuni, was brought before the Court-Martial of St. Petersburg. Gershuni was accused of being one of the most active members of the Fighting Organization, of having organized and directed the assassinations of Minister of Interior, Sypiagin, of the Governor of Ufa, Bogdanovich, and of having directed the plot against the Governor of Kharkoff, Prince Obolensky. The trial was held behind closed doors and only some of the favored gendarmes and police officials could see and hear Gershuni. But despite the closed doors, Gershuni's name became very popular in Russia. He made even the hardened judges and his prison guards bow before his personality. They looked at him in astonishment and with deep respect. One of the judges said aloud after the trial: "Yes, that is a real man."

Gershuni was born in the town of Shavli, of Jewish parents. Before he became a revolutionist, Gershuni had long been engaged in legal activities. He considered the main aim of his life—to serve the people. He had faith in the people, he loved the people and he wanted to consecrate all his strength to the people. He used to say: "I feel that the Russian people will accomplish great deeds of truth and justice."

Gershuni started to educate the people. He arranged popular readings and worked in the schools—always trying not to trespass beyond the bounds of the bureaucratic laws. But the deeper he entered into the work, the more he came in contact with the people and learned their wants, the clearer he saw the real picture of Russian life. He saw that the people were starving, dying of disease, living in congestion, squalor and poverty, despite the fact that they worked from early morning till late at night. And, in the face of such conditions, the Government not only did not do anything to help the people, but it barred the way to those who sought to help the masses. It did not allow anything beyond the simplest rudiments of education in the schools. One was not permitted to tell the people about the causes

GRIGORY GERSHUNI

One of the leaders of the Fighting Organization of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists. Organized and directed the assassinations of Minister of the Interior, Sypiagin, of the Governor of Ufa, Bogdanovich, and directed the plot against the Governor of Kharkov, Prince Obolensky. Was sentenced to death by the Petrograd Court-Martial in February, 1904. The death sentence was commuted to life at hard labor in Siberia. Escaped from Siberia in 1906. Died in France in 1907.

of their misery, for this would be against the interests of the bureaucracy. It knew that when the people realized the true state of affairs, they would want to free themselves from oppression and lawlessness.

Gershuni realized that there was really no law in Russia, that the fate of 150 million people was in the hands of a small but well organized clique who thought of their own ends only, and transacted all their affairs in the secrecy of their offices. There was only one thing for him to do, and this he did. He decided to work for the people secretly. He abandoned his former profession of pharmacist, left his native city, changed his name and entered the party of Socialists-Revolutionists. From this moment his revolutionary activities began.

Becoming convinced that nothing could be done by peaceful methods while the Government was making free use of its policy of terror, Gershuni gradually changed from a peaceful worker into a terrorist. All this he related in his speech, delivered before the Court, and added: "In my activities I was guided only by my conscience, by my desire to serve the interests of the working people, and my duty towards them. I believe I have done well and do not reproach myself, for I trust the workers will understand me and will not reproach me." But the judges, he said, would have to answer to the people for the fact that persons who wish to sacrifice their lives for the people, are now rotting in the jails. in Siberian exile, or losing their lives on the scaffold. He concluded his speech with the following: "I know that the road from here leads straight to the scaffold, but I ask not your indulgence." Gershuni was found guilty and sentenced to death.

He accepted this sentence with self-possessed calmness, and in his last letter to his comrades he wrote that his life was very happy and that he had no complaint against fate. He poured out his heart in his last letter. "I did not know that it is so easy to die," he wrote, after having heard his death sentence.

"Yes, it is easy to die when one has lived a full life, having given oneself heart and soul to the great cause, and when one dies with the faith that his death will bring nearer the

"REVOLIUTZIONNAYA ROSSIYA" ("REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA")
An organ of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, published abroad. Photographs of two covers of the magazine, combined with the pictures of the terrorists: Kaliaiev, Gershuni, Balmashev, Pokatilov, Sazonov and Polivanov.

day of redemption for all the toiling and down-trodden masses. It is easy to die knowing that all is not ended, that there are many fighters left on the field of battle, fighters who will not retreat before the onslaught of the foe, who are ready to die, and that in their place are coming new legions from the ranks of the people. Nowadays it is easier to die, for we are working hand in hand with the proletariat and the peasantry. Great deeds of justice and truth will this people accomplish, after they are all triumphant."

Gershuni was not executed. On March 5, 1904, the death sentence was commuted to hard labor for life. He was kept in the fortress of Schlüsselburg for some time, then he was transferred to Moscow, where he was put into the Boutyrsky jail, and somewhat later he was sent to the Akatuysky prison, from where he escaped. He tells how in his "Memoirs." He was placed by his comrades, revolutionists, at the bottom of a barrel, crouching so as to occupy as little space as possible. Two tubes were inserted for the passage of air. These led to the surface where they opened in holes which could hardly be noticed. He was given a sharp dagger. A metal plate, in the form of a hat was attached to his head. Then right over his head a thick leather membrane was fastened on a hoop to the sides of the barrel. On top of that membrane they put cabbage, covered up the barrel and took it outside. It often happened that in passing through the prison gates, the guard would stick his bayonet through the barrel of cabbage to see that there was nothing being smuggled out of the jail, but this time the guard just glanced at the barrel and let the prisoners carry it out.

Among these prisoners were Koulikovsky, Sazonov and other revolutionists. Gershuni says that at the time he was strangely calm, almost indifferent to what was going on outside of that barrel. The cellar where the barrel was supposed to be put away was at a considerable distance from the prison. The barrel was carried for several minutes, then they took it down into the cellar. Here he heard them talk and shout: "Take it to the right," "Lift it up," "Put it down," etc. The barrel was lowered, put down, and then after fussing for

BORIS V. SAVINKOV

One of the leaders of the Fighting Organization of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists. Participated in the assassination of the Minister of Interior, Von Plehve, and of the Grand Duke, Serghei Alexandrovich. Was arrested and sentenced to death, but escaped to Switzerland. Returned to Russia after the March Revolution and was appointed Minister of War in Kerensky's Cabinet.

a while the people who had carried it out must have disappeared, for it became quiet again. Now another danger menaced him. The trouble was that the wife of the warden and the wife of the superintendent thought it their privilege to use the cabbage of the prisoners, and one might expect them to come at any moment. But there was no time to be lost. With his dagger Gershuni cut the leather cover that was over him. The air tubes slipped down, the cabbage fell on him and for a minute he was steeped. He worked hard, shook off the cabbage, and having freed the upper part of his body, began to rise very carefully. But no sooner did he stick his head out of the barrel than he noticed, in the semi-darkness, a human figure stealthily making its way towards him. This was one of the revolutionists, from the outside, who had managed to creep in through an improvised passage dug through the wall and carefully disguised. With his aid, Gershuni got out of the barrel, dressed himself, and both began to creep out of the cellar through the passage.

In one place the opening was so narrow that Gershuni thought he would get stuck in the passage and never be able to get out. But, making a supreme effort and having badly injured his shoulders, he managed to make some headway and finally reached the exit. Before him was his assistant who was not very robust. They had to lie down and wait. Through the hole one could see the prison. From the prison windows signals were to be given when they were to move. The cellar was situated on a road, open on all sides, and there was some distance between the cellar and the place where they were to hide. This distance was visible from the prison. And there were all kinds of people passing by at all times. Now somebody came by carrying two pails of water suspended from a yoke, and stopped right in front of the hole where Gershuni and his guide were lying. This was a very critical moment, as Gershuni used to tell. But, having rested for two or three minutes, the water-carrier went ahead. Finally the signal was given from the prison window that the road was free. Instantly the two of them crept out of the subterranean passage and speedily made for the woods, where

they could hide in the thicket. At the foot of the mountain a wagon, with two horses, was waiting for them. Everything was ready for their trip, and Gershuni sped away. Four days later he was in Vladivostok, where he read a telegram about his escape. With the first steamer his comrades sent him to Japan. For twenty-four hours he had to remain under loads of rope and tarpaulin, without food, of course, waiting for the time when it would be safe to show himself on the steamer. One more day passed, in agony, and he landed safely in Japan, among many immigrant-comrades.

From Nagasaki Gershuni went to Tokio, where the Japanese Socialists arranged a solemn reception in his honor and a send-off party before his departure for Yokohama, from where he sailed for America, and then for Europe. In the United States Gershuni was enthusiastically received. During the six weeks of his stay in America, Gershuni collected over thirty thousand dollars for the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, which money he turned over to the Central Committee of the Party.

Gershuni's escape caused much alarm in the Tzar's Government circles. Large sums were offered to anyone who would catch him, and very soon the papers were full of legends of people who had caught him in various parts of Russia. But the real Gershuni remained safe. The hard revolutionary experiences and the years of imprisonment, however, had undermined his health, and in 1907 Gershuni died in France, surrounded by his friends.

G. GAPON—on Bloody Sunday

CHAPTER VIII

The Beginning of the Revolution of 1905—Bloody Sunday

IN 1904 came the war against Japan, a war condemned by all classes of the Russian people. With every defeat Russia suffered in the East grew the strength of the oppositional forces at home. The ineffciency, crookedness and graft of official Russia, in all the departments that supplied the men on the fighting line, roused the resentment of all the thinking elements. The general indignation expressed itself in demon-

strations whose moral force could not be suppressed.

E. SAZONOV

In July, 1904, when E. Sazonov, a member of the Fighting Organization of the Party of Socialists - Revolutionists, assassinated the Minister of Interior, Von Plehve, Nicholas II was scared into a concession. He turned power over into the hands of the new Minister of Interior, Prince Sviatopolk-Mirsky, who was to attempt a "dictatorship of the heart" like that short-lived one of Loris-Melikoff. The press heaved a sigh of relief. Rather suddenly, at a hint from the new power, the censorship stopped working. Quite radical articles were permitted to appear. Even a Congress held by the Zemstvos, in St. Petersburg, seemed to have the unspoken approval of Sviatopolk-Mirsky. This Congress drew up a resolution requesting reform on eleven points, which included the inviolability of persons and homes, freedom of thought, of speech, of the press, of assemblage, of public instruction, civil equality for all races and classes, and ended with a request for a representative assembly. Liberals the country over approved and accepted the "eleven points," and these were made the basis of many addresses sent to the Minister of Interior. But once more the power of Pobiedonostzev proved the stronger and Prince Sviatopolk-Mirsky's intentions went the path of many good bureaucratic intentions.

At the relaxation of the censorship, new oppositional organs had sprung into being, and old publications had become quite bold. Upon the insistence of Pobiedonostzev, the press was once more prohibited to discuss forbidden subjects, with pen-

alties for any who deviated a hair's breadth from the straight and only path. But the numerous meetings at which the "eleven points" were adopted and radical resolutions passed, showed the temper of the people. Theirs was no longer the

E. SAZONOV
(in prison)
Sentenced to hard labor imprisonment in Siberia for assassination of Von Plehve. Committed suicide, in 1913, in protest against flogging of the political prisoners.

spirit of non-resistance. All classes, even part of the nobility, agreed that the time had come for the passing of the old order. The Zemstvos telegraphed resolutions to the Tzar, requesting that the "eleven points" receive his consideration. The Tzar

responded with an edict that hinted at vague reforms for the Zemstvos, press, judiciary, the peasants and the workers. But these reforms were to be carried out by his reactionary Ministers.

However, immediately after the issuance of the edict, there appeared a "ukase" in which those people who had dared to request reforms were rebuked for their "impertinence" and they and the press strictly forbidden to discuss subjects injurious to the well-being of the autocratic State. All public meetings were declared unlawful. It was the old order with added oppressions.

The story of Bloody Sunday was told the world over. On Sunday, January 9, 1905, a day intensely cold, with snow and piercing wind, tens of thousands of the workers of St. Petersburg, men, women and children, carrying ikons and singing "God save the Tzar," marched to the Winter Palace to present a petition to the Tzar. They were led by Father Gapon, a priest, the leader of the Union of Russian Workingmen, an organization which existed under the good-will of the Ministry of Interior, which had fostered its growth as a counter force to Socialism.

Their petition was a humble plea that they be recognized as human beings, they who were "choked by despotism and irresponsibility." They pleaded for the most elemental of human rights, the right to think for themselves, to meet, to discuss their needs, to take measures for the improvement of their own hard lot. They begged for some measure of just dealing at the hands of the Tzar's officials. They ventured to suggest that national representation was indispensable because of the vastness of Russia and the immensity of her needs, needs that the officials were not able to meet. They beseeched their "little father" to take an oath to comply with their requests, so as to make Russia happy. They declared that they would rather die on the Square before his palace, than live on with their prayers unanswered. They willingly offered their lives as a sacrifice to suffering Russia, for only two ways were open to them, "either the way to liberty and happiness, or the way to the grave."

Knowing that an order had been given to surround the Winter Palace with troops and to fire on the peaceful procession of workingmen, Gapon had, the day before, sent letters to the Minister of the Interior and to the Tzar. He wrote the Minister of the Interior as follows:*

"Your Excellency: Workingmen and St. Petersburg inhabitants of various classes desire to see and they must see, the Tzar on 9th January at 2 P. M. in the Place of the Winter Palace, in order personally to explain to him their wants and the wants of all the people. The Tzar has nothing to apprehend. I, as the representative of the Union of Russian Workingmen, our co-workers and comrades, and even so-called revolutionary groups of all tendencies—we guarantee His inviolability. Let Him as the real Tzar with an open heart come out to His people. Let Him accept from our hands the petition! All this is necessary for His welfare and for that of all the inhabitants of St. Petersburg and of the Fatherland, otherwise the moral connection uniting up till now the Russian Tzar with the Russian people may be broken.

"Your great moral duty, both before the Tzar and before all the Russian people, is to present immediately to the Tzar these lines as well as the Petition to which they relate.

"Say to the Tzar that I, the workingmen, and many thousands of people have made up our minds, peacefully and with entire trust, but with irresistible firmness, to appear at the Palace. Let Him in deeds, and not in manifestoes, prove His trust in the people."

To the Tzar, Gapon wrote as follows:

"Sire: Do not believe the Ministers; they are cheating Thee in regard to the real state of affairs. The people believe in Thee. They have made up their minds to gather at the Winter Palace to-morrow, at 2 P. M., to lay their wants before Thee. If Thou wilt not stand before them, Thou wilt break that spiritual connection which unites Thee with them.

*Being unable, at present, to get the Russian originals of Gapon's letters and the petition to the Tzar, we have taken the liberty of using the translations of these documents given in "An Economic History of Russia," by James Mavor, pp. 468-474.

Their belief in Thee will disappear. The shed blood will separate Thee from them. Do not fear anything. Stand tomorrow before the people and accept our humblest petition. I, the representative of the workingmen, and my comrades guarantee the inviolability of Thy person."

The following is the text of Gapon's Petition to the Tzar, which was intended to be presented on January 9, 1905:

"Sire: We, workingmen and inhabitants of St. Petersburg of various classes, our wives and our children and our helpless old parents, come to Thee, Sire, to seek for truth and defense. We have become beggars; we have been oppressed; we are burdened by toil beyond our powers; we are scoffed at; we are not recognized as human beings; we are treated as slaves who must suffer their bitter fate and who must keep silence. We suffered, but we are pushed farther into the den of beggary, lawlessness, and ignorance. We are choked by despotism and irresponsibility, and we are breathless. We have no more power, Sire; the limit of patience has been reached. There has arrived for us that tremendous moment when death is better than the continuation of intolerable tortures. We have left off working, and we have declared to the masters that we shall not begin to work until they comply with our demands. We beg but little: we desire only that without which life is not life, but hard labor and eternal torture. The first request which we made was that our masters should discuss our needs with us; but this they refused, on the ground that no right to make this request is recognized by law. They also declared to be illegal our requests to diminish the working hours to eight hours daily, to agree with us about the prices for our work, to consider our misunderstandings with the inferior administration of the mills, to increase the wages for the labor of women and of general laborers, so that the minimum daily wage should be one ruble per day, to abolish overtime work, to give us medical attention without insulting us, to arrange the workshops so that it might be possible to work there, and not find in them death from awful draughts and from rain and snow. All these requests appeared to be, in the opinion of our masters and of the factory and mill

administrations, illegal. Everyone of our requests was a crime, and the desire to improve our condition was regarded by them as impertinence, and as offensive to them.

"Sire, here are many thousands of us, and all are human beings only in appearance. In reality in us, as in all Russian people, there is not recognized any human right, not even the right of speaking, thinking, meeting, discussing our needs, taking measures for the improvement of our condition. We have been enslaved, and enslaved under the auspices of Thy officials, with their assistance, and with their co-operation. Everyone of us who dares to raise a voice in defense of working-class and popular interests is thrown into jail or is sent into banishment. For the possession of good hearts and sensitive souls we are punished as for crimes. Even to pity a beaten man—a man tortured and without rights—means to commit a heavy crime. All the people—workingmen as well as peasants—are handed over to the discretion of the officials of the Government, who are thieves of the property of the State—robbers who not only take no care of the interests of the people, but who trample these interests under their feet. The Government officials have brought the country to complete destruction, have involved it in a detestable war, and have further and further led it to ruin. We, workingmen, have no voice in the expenditure of the enormous amounts raised from us in taxes. We do not know even where and for what is spent the money collected from a beggared people. The people are deprived of the possibility of expressing their desires, and they now demand that they be allowed to take part in the introduction of taxes and in the expenditure of them.

"The workingmen are deprived of the possibility of organizing themselves in unions for the defense of their interests.

"Sire, is it in accordance with divine law, by grace of which Thou reignest? Is it not better to die, better for all of us toiling people of Russia, and to let the capitalist exploiters of the working class, officials, "grafters," and robbers of the Russian people live? This is before us, Sire, and this has brought us to the walls of Thy Palace. We are seeking here

the last salvation. Do not refuse assistance to Thy people. Bring them from the grave of legal oppression, beggary, and ignorance. Give their destiny into their own hands. Cast away from them the intolerable oppression of officials. Destroy the wall between Thyself and Thy people, and let them rule the country together with Thyself. Art Thou not placed there for the happiness of Thy people? But this happiness the officials snatch from our hands. It does not come to us. We get only distress and humiliation. Look without anger, attentively upon our requests. They are directed, not to evil, but to good for us as well as for Thee. Sire! not impudence, but consciousness of needs, of emerging from a situation intolerable for us all, becomes articulate in us.

"Russia is too great. Its necessities are too various and numerous for officials alone to rule it. National representation is indispensable. It is indispensable that people should assist and should rule themselves. To them only are known their real necessities. Do not reject their assistance, accept it, order immediately the convocation of representatives of the Russian land from all ranks, including representatives from the workingmen. Let there be capitalists as well as workingmen—official and priest, doctor and teacher—let all, whatever they may be, elect their representatives. Let everyone be equal and free in the right of election, and for this purpose order that the elections for the Constitutional Assembly be carried on under the condition of universal, equal and secret voting. This is the most capital of our requests. In it and upon it everything is based. This is the principal and only plaster for our painful wounds, without which our wounds will fester and will bring us rapidly near to death. Yet one measure alone cannot heal our wounds. Other measures are also indispensable. Directly and openly as to a Father, we speak to Thee, Sire, about them, in person, for all the toiling classes of Russia. The following are indispensable:

I—Measures to counteract the ignorance and legal oppression of the Russian People

1. The immediate release and return of all who have suf-

fered for political and religious convictions, for strikes, and national peasant disorders.

2. The immediate declaration of freedom and of the inviolability of the person—freedom of speech and press, freedom of meetings, and freedom of conscience in religion.

3. Universal and compulsory elementary education of the people at the charge of the State.

4. Responsibility of the Ministers before the people and guarantee that the Government will be law-abiding.

5. Equality before the law of all, without exception.

6. Separation of the Church from the State.

II—Measures against the poverty of the people:

1. Abolition of indirect taxes and the substitution of a progressive income tax.

2. Abolition of the Redemption Instalments, cheap credit, and gradual transference of the land to the people.

3. The orders for the military and naval ministries should be filled in Russia, and not abroad.

4. The cessation of the war by the will of the people.

III—Measures against the oppression of labor:

1. Abolition of the factory inspectorships.

2. Institution at factories and mills of permanent committees of elected workers, which, together with the administration (of the factories) would consider the complaints of individual workers. Discharge of workingmen should not take place otherwise than by resolution of this committee.

3. Freedom of organization of co-operative societies of consumers and of labor trade unions, immediately.

4. Eight-hour working day and regulation of overtime working.

5. Freedom of the struggle of labor against capital, immediately.

6. Normal wages, immediately.

7. Participation of working-class representatives in the working out of projects of law concerning workmen's State insurance, immediately.

"Here, Sire, are our principal necessities with which we come to Thee! Only by the satisfaction of these is the release of our native land from slavery and beggary possible; only by this means is possible the flourishing of our native land, and is possible for workingmen to organize themselves for the defense of their interests against impudent exploitation of capitalists and of the officials' government which is plundering and choking the people. Order and take an oath to comply with these requests, and Thou wilt make Russia happy and famous and Thou wilt impress Thy name in our hearts and in the hearts of our posterity to all eternity. If Thou wilt not order and wilt not answer our prayer—we shall die here on this place before Thy Palace.

"We have nowhere to go farther and nothing for which to go. We have only two ways—either towards liberty and happiness or into the grave. . . . Let our life be a sacrifice for Russia, which has suffered to the extreme limit. We do not regret this sacrifice. We willingly offer it."

Almost one thousand five hundred dead and wounded, among them women and children, were truly sacrificed to suffering Russia. Grand Duke Vladimir, uncle of the Tzar, ordered the troops to fire at the unarmed workers, and to keep on shooting until they were completely dispersed. Thus ended the appeal of the poor, miserable, long-suffering masses to their "little father"!

Affected by this terrible crime against the peaceful demonstrants whom he had led, Gapon again wrote to the Tzar, and addressed an open letter to the Russian Socialist Parties. Here is his letter to the Tzar:

"With naive belief in thee as father of thy people, I was going peacefully to thee with the children of these very people. Thou must have known, thou didst know this. The innocent blood of workers, their wives and children, lies forever between thee, O soul destroyer, and the Russian people. Moral connection between thee and them may never be any more. The mighty river during its overflowing thou art already unable to stem by any half measures, even by a Zemsky Sobor (Popular Assembly). Bombs and

dynamite, the terror by individuals and by masses, against thy breed and against the robbers of rightless people—all this must be and shall absolutely be. A sea of blood—unexampled—will be shed. Because of thee, because of thy whole family, Russia may perish. Once for all, understand this and remember, better soon with all thy family abdicate the throne of Russia and give thyself up to the Russian people for trial. Pity thy children and the Russian lands, O thou offerer of peace for other countries and blood drunkard for thine own!

"Otherwise let all blood which has to be shed fall upon thee, Hangman, and thy kindred!

"GEORGE GAPON.

"Postscriptum—Know that this letter is the justifying document of the coming revolutionary terroristic occurrences in Russia. "G. G."

The following is Gapon's appeal to the Russian Socialist Parties:

"The bloody January days in St. Petersburg and the rest of Russia brought the oppressed working class face to face with the autocratic regime, the blood drunkard Tzar at its head, and the Great Russian Revolution began. Everybody for whom national liberty is really dear is under the necessity of winning or dying. Conscious as I am of the importance of the historical moment through which we are living under the present situation of affairs, and being first of all a revolutionist and a man of action, I summon all the socialist parties of Russia to enter immediately into agreement among themselves and to begin the business of armed uprising against Tsarism. All the forces of every party should be mobilized. The technical plan of conflict should be a common one for all. Bombs and dynamite, terror by individuals and by masses—everything which may contribute to the national uprising. The first purpose is the overwhelming of the autocracy. The provisional revolutionary government immediately proclaims amnesty for all fighters for political and religious freedom, immediately arms the people, and immediately convokes a constituent assembly on the basis of a universal, equal, secret, and direct electoral law. To work, comrades!

Ahead, for the fight! Let us repeat the cry of the St. Petersburg workingmen on 9th January, 'Liberty or death!' Every delay or dispute is a crime against the people whose interests you are defending. Having given all my powers for service to the people, from the depths of whom I myself originated, having irrevocably connected my fate with the struggle against the oppressors and exploiters of the working class, I naturally with all my heart and all my soul will be with those who are undertaking the task of the real emancipation of the proletariat and of the whole toiling mass from capitalistic oppression and political slavery."

As a revolutionary leader, Gapon disappeared from the scene as suddenly and as unexpectedly as he had appeared on it. But the movement towards the Winter Palace on January 9, 1905, which is connected with his name, may be considered the opening scene of the Revolution which occurred in Russia that year.

CHAPTER IX

The Rising Tide of Revolution

TO teach this presumptuous people, this people who dared to tell their Tzar what he should do, the most extremely repressive measures were now put into force. The Chief of the Moscow Police, General Trepov, a son of the Trepov who had been shot at by Vera Zasulich, and as ruthless a man as his father had been, was appointed Governor-General of St. Petersburg. Trepov believed in the power of force, the telling force of the sabre and the knout. He was not a bit loath to use these against the workingmen and the youth of the "intelligentsia," for daring to express themselves or daring to gather to discuss current political matters. In Moscow, the Governor-General, Grand Duke Serghei Alexandrovich, carried out the Government's policy in a particularly cruel spirit.

The workingmen throughout the country retaliated in the only way possible, by disturbances and strikes, one after another. The university students, in protest to the new repressions, walked out, and the universities simply had to shut down. The Government declared martial law in Poland, in the Caucasus and over all railways. On February 4, a young revolutionist, a member of the Fighting Organization of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, Ivan Kaliaiev, threw a bomb and killed the pitiless reactionary, Grand Duke Serghei Alexandrovich.

The heroic figure of Ivan Kaliaiev deserves at least a short characterization. He was born on the 24th of June, 1877, in Warsaw. In 1888 he entered the Apukhtinsky Gymnasium in that city. The year 1897-1898 he spent as a student at the Moscow University, studying history, languages and literature. It was at that time that he began to write, first for the columns of the "Russky Listok" and then for the "Courier," "Severny Kray" and other Russian and Polish publications. He had

not joined the revolutionary movement then, but was busy trying to master the doctrines of Marxism, which were being widely discussed at the time.

In the fall of 1898 Kaliaiev transferred to the St. Petersburg University, where he enrolled in the faculty of law. He spent the winter almost entirely at his studies. In the spring of

IVAN KALIAIEV
(Eighteen years of age. In Russian high school uniform.)

1899 serious disturbances broke out among the students, in protest against the knouting of some of their number. Kaliaiev joined the rebels and took an active and prominent part in these uprisings. He wrote and printed the proclamations, he agitated in the restaurant and in the lecture halls of the University. He made revolutionary speeches. All this resulted in his arrest.

After serving a three months' sentence in jail, he was banished to Ekaterinoslav for two years, to live under the constant surveillance of the police. There he joined the local committee of the Social-Democratic Party, and for the first time took an active part in real revolutionary work. The term of his sentence having expired, he went to Warsaw. Later he went abroad and arrived in Lemberg in January, 1902. Desiring to become better acquainted with the publication "Iscra," the organ of the Russian Social-Democratic Workingmen's Party, he left Lemberg for Berlin. On his way he was arrested by the Prussian authorities in the town of Moscovitzy, on the Russian-German frontier. A few pamphlets and a few copies of the "Iscra" were sufficient cause for turning him over to the Russian authorities, after having kept him under arrest for three weeks. As a result he was locked up in the fortress of Warsaw.

This arrest was the turning point in his life. From Marxism and the Social-Democratic Party, he turned to the principles of the party of the "Will of the People," which became his religion. In this religion he believed with all the faith and all the enthusiasm of which his frank, revolutionary and deeply democratic soul was capable. In the summer of the same year he was released from the fortress and sent to Yaroslavl to await trial. There he engaged in journalism and other literary work, and for the first time entered into relations with the Socialists-Revolutionists. In the fall of 1903 he had become a member of the Party and had placed himself at the disposal of the Central Committee.

On the 4th of February, 1905, Ivan Kaliaiev threw a bomb into the carriage of Grand Duke Serghei Alexandrovich, the ruthless Governor-General of Moscow. On the 5th of April the Court of Special Sessions of the Senate sentenced him to death.

After listening to the verdict, Kaliaiev said: "I am happy to hear the sentence; I hope you will have the courage to execute it just as openly and publicly as I have executed the sentence

of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists. Learn to look straight in the face of the coming Revolution."

On the 10th of May, at 3 A. M., the sentence was executed secretly within the walls of the Fortress of Schlüsselburg.

The following is the story, as related by an eye-witness, of the last few hours before the grim sentence was executed:

IVAN KALIAIEV
In prison, after the assassination (from an old photograph)

"As soon as the boat bringing Ivan Kaliaiev to the Fortress appeared on the Nieva, all the women and children who lived in the Fortress and who were not in church were ordered to hide themselves in their homes, shut the windows and not look out into the street. Troops were stationed everywhere to prevent any civilian from approaching the place where the prisoner was supposed to pass.

"Kaliaiev was brought into the Fortress and led into a room known as the 'work-room.' This room is small; it has two windows, from which you can see only a wooden fence surrounding a few flower-beds, which usually belong to the prison guards.

"Kaliaiev was perfectly calm and spent most of his last day writing.

"Though it was a spring day, the weather was quite chilly. During the afternoon Kaliaiev lay down on the bed to take a rest, covering himself with a blanket. The chill of the cell compelled him to ask the guards for an additional blanket. Not to be misunderstood, he explained: 'Don't think that I am shivering with fear; I am simply cold, and I would ask you to give me another blanket.'

"His request was immediately granted.

"Kaliaiev wrote almost all day. He covered a number of sheets, but before he went to his death, he crossed out all he had written with the exception of the famous saying of Peter the Great, before the battle of Poltava: 'And as regards Peter, know—his life is not so dear to him as Russia's happiness.' He also left a letter to his mother, written half an hour before the execution. This was taken by the Commander of the Fortress and transmitted to the addressee through the police.

"The hangman who was to execute the sentence had been kept at the Fortress waiting for his victim since the 8th of May. He was a husky man, dark, with large, coarse features. This contemptible creature, Alexander Filipieff, had been sentenced to death for the murder of about seven people. He had been pardoned on the condition that he would serve as executioner. For every execution the term of his imprisonment was to be shortened; besides, there was a monetary reward for every man that he executed. In May, 1905, he was a prisoner who was to be brought to the Fortress in a police boat, but by August of the same year he was riding about freely without any guard and not in police, but in passenger boats, for by that time the term of his imprisonment had expired, due to the great number of revolutionists hanged in the various parts of Russia during that summer. In the Fortress of Schlüsselburg he spent his time, awaiting the arrival of his victim, drinking vodka and smoking very heavily.

"At 9 o'clock next morning the Prosecuting Attorney came to the prison cell, together with the Superintendent, and informed Kaliaiev that he would be executed that night. Kaliaiev listened calmly to the announcement that he would be dead in the course of a few hours. He had asked his Attorney to witness the execution and he kept on asking whether the Attorney had not arrived. But, although his Attorney had come to the Fortress, asking that he be permitted to see Kaliaiev, the permission was not granted.

"At about 10 o'clock the prison priest entered the cell.

Kaliaiev told him that though he was religious, he did not believe in the church ritual, and added that he was ready to die and that he was through with worldly matters forever. However, as he felt that the priest was a good man, he concluded, 'Let me kiss you as a good man.' They kissed each other, and the priest left Kaliaiev. Soon after the priest's departure, Kaliaiev wrote the following letter to his mother:

"'Dear, beloved Mother:

> And so I am going to die. I am happy that I am able to control myself to the very end. Let your sorrow, my dear mother, sisters and brothers, be drowned in the rays of that light which permeates my triumphant spirit.
>
> Good-bye. Regards to all who knew me and who remember me.
>
> I beg you to preserve the purity of our father's name.
>
> Don't grieve, don't cry. Farewell. I am always with you.
>
> Yours,
> IVAN KALIAIEV.'

"Having steeled himself for death, Kaliaiev asked after midnight that the execution be carried out as soon as possible. But they had to wait for the dawn.

"It was two o'clock in the morning. . . . Into Kaliaiev's room came the Superintendent, together with the hangman, who was dressed all in red. He wore a crimson blouse and crimson breeches, a red night-cap, and a rope around his waist, to which was attached a knout.

"The hangman approached Kaliaiev, tied his hands behind his back, and Kaliaiev was led out by the Superintendent into the yard, where the scaffold had been erected. The hangman followed.

"In the yard were assembled all those who had been invited to the execution, a company of privates and all the commissioned officers that were free from prison duties. Kaliaiev, dressed in black and wearing a black felt hat, mounted the scaffold.

"Standing motionless on the scaffold, he listened to the read-

ing of the sentence. This done, the priest aproached him with a cross in his hand, but Kaliaiev said: 'I have told you already that I have done with life and that I am ready to die.' The priest moved away.

"The hangman approached the prisoner, slipped a shroud over his head, helped him mount the stool, as this could not be done without aid, and then threw the noose around his neck, and kicked away the stool with his foot. Kaliaiev's body hung in the air. Scarcely anyone could look at the man, who remained hanging for thirty minutes. All stood silent near the scaffold. Thirty minutes later the executioner took Kaliaiev's body down. The fortress doctor, who was present, examined the heart and pulse, but it was already an unnecessary formality. Kaliaiev was dead.

"His body was placed in a wooden casket. The soldiers buried it outside of the Fortress wall, between the mound that surrounds the Fortress on the side of the lake and the King's tower."

On this very same spot were buried all those who were executed in the Fortress in the eighties of the last century.

KALIAIEV'S act resulted in another conciliatory promise from Nicholas II. The Tzar declared, in an edict, that he had resolved "to summon the most worthy men elected by the people to participate in considering and drafting legislative measures."

But the country could no longer be pacified by a promise that they were almost certain would not be kept. The Social-Democrats organized demonstrations and strikes in industrial districts. The activity of the Socialists-Revolutionists among the peasantry caused whole villages in all parts of the country to rise in rebellion. The peasants addressed petitions to the Tzar demanding not only agrarian reforms but political ones as well. In some provinces they did not wait for any law, but simply appropriated the land from the owners.

Unions were organized all over the country. Professor Paul Milyukov and his friends were active in organizing pro-

fessional unions of all sorts, among lawyers, physicians, authors, teachers, clerks, etc. All these unions were incorporated into one Union of Unions.

In March, with the country defeated at Mukden and Tsushima, these growing oppositional forces gathered strength and daring. The Zemstvos called a congress in Moscow. A deputation was sent to the Tzar. Prince G. E. Lvov*, Prince D. I. Shakhovsky, Prince Serghie Trubetskoy, Prince P. D. Dolgorukov, I. I. Petrunkevitch, F. I. Rodichev, Count P. A. Hayden, M. F. Fiodorov and others, men prominent in the liberal movement, made up this deputation. Prince Trubetskoy was the spokesman. In the name of the Zemstvos, he made a frank address to the Tzar, asking that a representative body of people be called, the representatives to be equally elected by all classes. He declared that the time was a crucial one, and that much depended on the Tzar's attitude. M. F. Fiodorov also made a speech along similar lines.

The Tzar's reply showed that he realized his straits. He told these representatives to cast aside all doubt, that his will, "the will of the Tzar—to summon representatives of the people—was unshakable."

This reply of the Tzar created a furore. But the rejoicing was short-lived, for the all-powerful bureaucrats immediately forbade the press, under severe penalties, to discuss the coming Assembly. The spirit of unrest continued to grow. The Union of Unions combined forces with the Peasants' Union, which was already under the influence of the Socialists-Revolutionists. In June one of the battleships of the Black Sea Fleet, the Potiomkin, mutineed. The crew killed all the officers. The country was truly up in arms. The Tzar was forced to keep his word.

*Later Prime Minister in the Russian Provisional Government.

CHAPTER X

On the Crest of the Revolution of 1905

ON the 3rd day of August a Manifesto appeared, announcing the establishment of the Imperial Duma. It was evident from the Manifesto that the Duma representatives were to be elected according to a very undemocratic law and that its powers were to be very limited. It was not given any legislative powers, only consultative. Needless to say, the nation was not satisfied.

The Constitutional-Democratic Party, of which Paul Milyukov is at present the leader, really took root then, in a second Zemstvos' Congress held in Moscow. Various nationalities participated in this Congress, which declared for a constitutional government.

The Government swayed between fear that it had already granted too much, and concern that perhaps it were wise to make further concessions. One day the universities were granted a pseudo-autonomy, and the next the press was more tightly gagged. Meanwhile strikes were spreading throughout the country, and the peasants in the villages appropriated and pillaged estates. The entire land was in the throes of Revolution.

In October, as a climax to the disturbances, manifestations and strikes all over the land, a general political strike, was declared. This lasted for about two weeks, beginning with the seventh day of the month. The Moscow railways began it. Seven hundred fifty thousand employees, engaged on over twenty-six thousand miles of railroad, walked out in a brief time. The street railway employees followed suit. Telegraph and postal service stopped, and very soon, in fact, every trade and industry had stopped functioning. Many towns were cut off from communication with one another. Food distribution stopped. All the every-day activities upon which the very existence of a nation depends, were at a standstill. The Central Strike Committee, in possession of engines, was keeping

the strikers well-posted on events. It was indeed a crucial moment for the Tzar's Government. It was very evident that the country was in no mood for vacillating half-measures.

Nicholas II, now thoroughly frightened, dismissed Pobiedonostzev, the cornerstone of the reaction, appointed Count Witte Premier of Russia, and issued the Manifesto of October 17, granting the people "inviolability of person, freedom of thought, speech, assemblage and organization." This Manifesto also granted the electoral right to many classes not permitted representation in the Imperial Duma, by the previous Manifesto. It further declared that no new law would be enacted without the approval of the Imperial Duma.

The Manifesto was greeted by general rejoicing throughout Russia. The rejoicing was again of brief duration. For, Nicholas II granted concessions with one hand, and with the other he let loose his associates, who immediately wreaked vengeance upon the people for having dared to undermine their absolute power. The day after the appearance of the Manifesto saw the beginning of a series of horrible massacres of Jews and of "intelligentsia" throughout the country. In Odessa alone, there was a toll of about a thousand killed and many thousands wounded, in a massacre that lasted four days. The horrors perpetrated, aside from death and wounds, are written in the memories of many people, even on this side of the ocean.

Trepov was then Minister of the Interior. His cruelties proved distasteful even to the Tzar's Premier, and finally he was dismissed. But his successor, Durnovo, an old reactionary, was not of any milder mettle. The Revolution kept on spreading and in St. Petersburg the delegates from the factories, elected by the workers, had organized a Council of Workmen's Delegates. The President of this Council was a young lawyer, Khrustaliov-Nosar. Other cities had followed suit and organized local Councils of Workmen's Delegates. Even the peasants in many places had organized their Councils of Peasants' Delegates, and in a few instances the soldiers had banded together in their Councils of Soldiers' Delegates.

On the very day that Trepov had let loose his "Black Hundreds"* to spill the blood of the Jews and "intelligentsia," who were proclaimed "enemies of the Tzar," the St. Petersburg Council of Workmen's Delegates passed a resolution that plainly declared their intention to do away with autocracy forever. It said in part: "Pressed in the iron vise of the general political strike of the Russian proletariat, the Russian Autocratic Government has granted concessions... But the Russian Revolutionary Proletariat cannot lay down its arms until the time when the political rights of the Russian people are established on firm foundations, until a democratic republic is established, the best method for the advancement of the struggle of the proletariat for Socialism."

In the latter part of October a mutiny broke out among the Kronstadt sailors. It was suppressed and the leaders were arrested. They were handed over to a court-martial, which sentenced them to death. During this same time a strong movement for autonomy appeared in Poland. The Government responded by declaring martial law in the Polish Provinces.

On November 2, in protest against the death sentence passed upon the Kronstadt sailors, the St. Petersburg Council of Workmen's Delegates declared a second general political strike, with the demands: "Down with the death sentence! Down with court-martials! Down with martial law in Poland!" Count Witte tried to win over the Council and issued a proclamation to the workingmen, appealing to them in a very "benevolent" tone:

"Brothers-workmen! Go back to work, cease your seditious activities, have pity on your wives and children. Do not listen to evil counsel. The Tzar has commanded us to devote special attention to the labor question.... Give us time and everything

*The "Black Hundreds," in general, were bands made up of the scum of the people. Released criminals, who wished to rehabilitate themselves with the police, and extremely ignorant persons, who were taught that the "intelligentsia" and the Jews were responsible for all their misery, were organized into bands by police agents, for these massacres. Under police protection they pillaged, ravaged and committed murders with impunity.

possible will be done for you. Heed the advice of a man disposed towards you and wishing you well."

One group of electrical workers, after a discussion of the proclamation, responded laconically: "Read it and—struck." The Council answered the proclamation, point by point:

"The Council of Workmen's Delegates, after listening to the telegram of Count Witte to his 'brothers-workmen', first of all expresses its extreme amazement at the impertinence of the Tzar's favorite who takes the liberty of calling the St. Petersburg workingmen his 'brothers.' The proletarians are in no way related to Count Witte.

"The Council declares:

"1. Count Witte calls upon us to pity our wives and children. The Council requests all workingmen to figure out how many widows and orphans have been added to their ranks since the day that Witte was placed at the head of the Government.

"2. Count Witte points out the benevolent intention of the Tzar towards the working class. The Council reminds the St. Petersburg proletariat about the Bloody Sunday of January 9.

"3. Count Witte asks to be given 'time' and promises to do 'everything possible' for the workers. The Council knows that Witte has already found time for delivering Poland into the hands of martial executioners, and the Council does not doubt that Witte will do 'everything possible' to strangle the revolutionary proletariat.

"4. Count Witte calls himself a man disposed towards us and wishing us well. The Council declares that the working class is in no need of good will on the part of the Tzar's favorite. It demands a popular government, based on universal, equal, direct and secret franchise."

The Government temporized by further palliative concessions. The redemption dues of the peasants were cut in half for 1906 and were to be completely abolished after January, 1907. Finland was granted some of the liberties of which she had been deprived. A partial amnesty for political prisoners was declared. But the agrarian disorders continued. The Siberian troops revolted. In Southern Russia the flag of

Revolution was raised on a number of battleships by Lieutenant Schmidt, and there was an encounter with the fleet. There were constant mutinies in the army and navy. The soldiers in many parts of Russia rose in rebellion.

The story of the revolutionary uprising under the leadership of Lieutenant Schmidt remains one of the most romantic episodes in the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia. The uprising was suppressed, and Lieutenant Schmidt was sentenced to death. His last days were recently described by a private, F. I. Pradidenko, of the fort artillery of Ochakov, in an interview that appeared in a daily published in Nikolaev.

"I was an eye-witness of the execution of Lieutenant Peter Petrovich Schmidt and his associates," said F. I. Pradidenko. "At that time I was serving in the fort artillery in the city of Ochakov, in the fifth company, which was on duty at the naval battery.

"On November 20, 1905, we were ordered to immediately prepare the casemate on naval battery No. 41. On the same date, at eight o'clock in the evening the gunboat 'Donetz' came and anchored close to the battery. When the 'Donetz' was coming we were ordered to take our places at the guns, from where we could clearly see that a boat left the 'Donetz' and stopped at the pier of the naval battery. I went to the landing place and what did I see?—An armed detachment landed, in charge of two officers. In the middle of this detachment a man was carried, followed by a boy about 15 years old. To my question as to who he was, the sailors replied that he was Lieutenant Schmidt, and the boy following him, his son. In reply to my inquiry why he was carried, I was told that his leg was broken. Subsequently I myself asked Lieutenant Schmidt about it, and this is what he said: 'When I threw myself from the cruiser Ochakov, into the water, I was overtaken by a boat containing an officer and four sailors; the officer hit me with his sword and cut my leg.'

"Schmidt was brought into casemate No. 41, where two cots and a little table were prepared. Schmidt and his son were left there, the casemate was locked, and I was put on guard.

LIEUTENANT PETER P. SCHMIDT

The leader of the uprising in the Russian Fleet at the end of 1905. Executed on March 6th, 1906.

"After the officers had left, I said to him: 'Mr. Schmidt, why are you imprisoned?' He replied: 'Understanding the falseness on the part of the Tzar and the Government and their oppressive and cruel treatment of the people, and being unable to stand any longer this injustice and cruelty to the people, I rebelled against the Tzar's Government. For this I am imprisoned.'

"Lieutenant Schmidt remained at the battery from November 20, 1905, until February 5, 1906. His son, having stayed with him not over a month, was released. I learned of the son's release when I was put on guard over him a second time.

"On the same day, at one o'clock in the morning, Lieutenant Schmidt said to me: 'Comrade, I leave you my words written on the floor with the candle. Hurry and read them, because after my departure the gendarmes will erase them and will not let you read them. However, let them erase. These are only words, but they will never succeed in erasing the memory of my deed!'

"I read the following: 'The time will come when the whole people will awaken.'

"On February 5, 1906, a transport-boat, with gendarmes, came from Ochakov to the naval battery and Schmidt was taken to the city of Ochakov, where he was put into the guard-house of the Fortress.

"On the same day I also went to Ochakov, where I saw the steamer which came fom Sebastopol. As I came along, members of the Naval Court were leaving the steamer; after them, thirty-nine sailors were taken off, under guard. Their cases were considered by the Court at the same time as that of Lieutenant Schmidt.

"Of these thirty-nine sailors, some were acquitted, some sentenced to hard labor for life, and three,—Antonenko, Gladkov and Chasnikov,—to death by shooting, like Lieutenant Schmidt. At the end of the Court's sitting, Lieutenant Schmidt and his associates were put on a military transport, which was standing at the naval battery.

"In the middle of the night of March 6, 1906, I was ordered to dress and go with the drummers to Berezan Island. Upon

my arrival on the Island, I saw there the Brest infantry regiment, armed, and, at a distance, forty sailors, also armed. At dawn Lieutenant Schmidt and his three associates were brought to the Island. They were preceded by a priest. When they came to the place of execution, the Court's decision was read to them, after which the priest gave them the cross, which they kissed.

"Then they took off their outer garments and took their assigned places, each at a post. Lieutenant Schmidt, having taken off his outer garments, called a soldier and gave him his cap, coat and silver watch, and then placed himself at the post.

"Raising his hands, Schmidt said: 'This is the last time I see the bright world and my associates. I tell you truthfully that I did not shoot from the cruiser Ochakov and that I did not permit any shooting.'

"His companions, standing at their posts, repeated the same.

"Lieutenant Schmidt's companions, Antonenko and Gladkov, realizing that it was the end, became hysterical; immediately two sailors ran to them and tied them to the posts.

"Then the signal was given to shoot. A discharge was heard. . . . Forty bullets were fired into them. Ten sailors sent four bullets each. Lieutenant Schmidt and Chasnikov fell after the first volley. Schmidt fell on the right side, Chasnikov on the left. After the fourth volley Antonenko was still alive. The regiment doctor went over to him, took out a revolver and sent two shots into his head, ending Antonenko's life.

"When all were dead, the sailors ran over and began to put the bodies into coffins. There was a separate coffin for each, but one grave was dug out for all. The coffins containing the bodies of the champions of freedom were passed to me and I put them into the grave. I pointed out the place and they were dug up on April 15, 1917."

HOWEVER, the greater part of the army remained faithful to the Tzar, and the revolutionary forces seemed to be losing their hold. In November there was a third Congress of Zemstvos held in Moscow. The moderate liberals, frightened at the excesses of the Revo-

lution, organized in a separate party, under the name of Octobrists. They meant to support the Government in carrying out its policy according to the Manifesto of October 17. The leader of the new party was A. I. Guchkov*. The party differed from the Constitutional-Democrats not only in its tactics but also in its program, being opposed to autonomy for Poland and to the principle of responsibility of the Cabinet to the Duma.

Public sympathy for the Revolution had weakened because of its excesses. Unity among the revolutionists themselves was now lacking. The strike was no longer a novelty. The second political strike proved a failure.

The Tzar's Government, noting the weakening in the forces of the Revolution, felt its courage return. To make sure that the strength of the revolutionaries was ebbing, it proceeded cautiously at first. Khrustaliov-Nosar, the President of the St. Petersburg Council of Workmen's Delegates, was arrested. The Council was forced to show its weakness. Instead of raising the expected revolutionary storm, it was merely able to draw up a strong resolution of protest, and to elect a new president, Leon Trotzky†. The Government forces began to tread more firmly. In Moscow they arrested the Central Committee of the Peasants' Union. They proclaimed martial law in St. Petersburg. Public meetings were again prohibited. The strikers again were to be severely punished.

Provoked by the new turn in events, the Council of Workmen's Delegates, the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party, the Central Committee of the Peasants' Union and the Central Committee of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, on December 2, united in a Manifesto addressed to the people. This Manifesto pointed out the main crimes of the Tzar's Government against the people and declared that the fall of the autocracy was the only way out of the abyss. To overthrow the autocratic order it was deemed necessary to take away its financial power. The Tzar's Government, be-

*Later Secretary of War in the Provisional Government.
†Later one of the leaders of the Bolsheviki.

coming bankrupt, would inevitably fall. Therefore, the Manifesto called upon the people:

"To refuse payment of redemption installments and all other fiscal payments.

"To demand that all payments of wages or salaries be in gold and that amounts less than five roubles be paid in hard coin, full weight.

"To withdraw the deposits from the Savings Banks and from the State Bank, demanding all payments in gold."

The St. Petersburg newspapers printed this Manifesto. They were suspended. Nevertheless, the Manifesto appeared in the provincial press. The people heeded the call and withdrew many tens of millions of rubles from the Savings Banks. The Government arrested and imprisoned the entire Council of Workmen's Delegates. The Central Strike Committee responded by calling another general strike.

Everyone felt the coming of a decisive battle. Everything depended on the army. Whichever side the army stood by, was sure to win. It seemed as if the army would naturally fall in with the brothers and fathers, in the ranks of the revolutionists.

But this general strike, the third in barely two months, drew only a disheartened response. The proletariat's fighting strength was gone. Not all the factories responded, and only in a few places was the attempt made to overthrow the local authorities. And unfortunately, the army, accustomed to ages of submission and blind obedience, followed their officers like cattle, and slaughtered their own fathers and brothers.

AFTER A PUNITIVE EXPEDITION

CHAPTER XI

Zinaida Konopliannikova and Maria Spiridonova

IN Moscow, the Council of Workmen's Delegates, more determined than the revolutionists in other cities, waged almost a two weeks' battle against the combined forces of the infantry, cavalry and artillery of the Tzar's Government. Machine guns and magazine rifles were played against the revolvers of the revolutionary fighting groups, and it is hardly necessary to say that the machine guns and magazine rifles proved the stronger. The Government wreaked its vengeance with frightful cruelty. The population of the city received the treatment of a conquered enemy. Houses and factories were destroyed. Prisoners were shot down in batches, without any form of trial. Then the Government sent the Semionovsky Guards on a punitive expedition, through the Moscow region, to punish all suspects. The order was: "Take no prisoners; act without mercy." And the Semionovsky Guards obeyed this order to the letter. They slaughtered and they ravaged. The Government was avenged for all the uneasy days it had had.

ZINAIDA KONOPLIANNIKOVA
Member of the Fighting Organization of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists. Shot General Mien who, in 1905, led the punitive expedition against the revolutionists in the Moscow region. Executed in August, 1906.

MARIA SPIRIDONOVA
Member of the Fighting Organization of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists. Shot the reactionary Governor of Tambov, Lujenovsky, for his extremely cruel treatment of the peasants during the agrarian and political disturbances. After spending 10 years at hard labor imprisonment in Siberia, returned to Petrograd after the March Revolution, 1917.

As this expedition had proven so successful, punitive expeditions became the order of the day. The unarmed peasants and the workers all over Russia, especially in the provinces known to be revolutionary, were cannonaded, and the villages burned down. The population was treated to atrocities such as only the darkest pages of the history of this war have shown. By such methods was Russia pacified. . . .

At the head of the Semionovsky Guards, which "pacified" revolutionary Moscow, was the notorious, since then, General Mien. The atrocities committed under his leadership did not remain unavenged. A young woman, Zinaida Vassilievna Konopliannikova, a member of the Fighting Organization of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, shot General Mien, in the summer of 1906.

The story of this brave woman who died for her country, at the age of twenty-eight, is the best illustration both of the lofty idealism and heroism of Russia's youth, dying for liberty, and of the atrocities of the autocracy which oppressed the Russian people for centuries.

Zinaida Konopliannikova was a native of St. Petersburg. She was born in 1879 and received her early training in an elementary school, after which she entered a vocational school. After having brilliantly completed the six-year course, she entered a teachers' training school in St. Petersburg, from which she graduated three years later. Then she started her career as a teacher in the town of Cherny, in the Province of Livland. It seemed to her, however, that her work was too closely connected with the russification of the natives, who hated the process. She decided to leave the place and was transferred to the district of Peterhoff.

Here she first started her work for the peasants, arranging theatrical performances, lectures and so on. In 1903 Konopliannikova went to St. Petersburg for propaganda work among the workingmen. In April of the same year she was arrested, with a group of people charged with the same offense. She was first kept in a cell in the police station, but because of her refusal to give any informa-

tion, she was transferred to the Fortress of St. Peter and Paul. It was only due to her illness that she was again transferred to the cell in the police station, where she was kept until April, 1904. Finally she was released, but was again arrested and imprisoned for nine months. When her term expired, she went abroad, and lived mostly in Switzerland. After having taken a rest and recovered her health, which was greatly shattered by her stay in prison, she went back to Russia, where she joined the fighting ranks of the Socialist Party.

Arrested at the railroad station, after shooting General Mien, who had led the punitive expedition against the revolutionists in the Moscow region, Konopliannikova refused to give her name. A few days later she was recognized by a gendarme, Ostafieff, who remembered having investigated her case at the time she was being tried for belonging to the Peasants' Union. She was charged with two crimes: the shooting of General Mien and membership in the Fighting Organization of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists. Konopliannikova declared that she did not regret her acts. The trial took place on the 26th of August and throughout the proceedings she remained calm and courageous.

After the Prosecuting Attorney and the Attorney for the Defense had made their speeches, the contents of which are unknown, Konopliannikova herself made the following speech:

"I, a member of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, and at the present time a member of the Fighting Organization of the Northern Section of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, have shot Mien. These are the reasons that forced me to commit this act: I think all of you remember the days in the month of December last, when General Mien and Rieman treated Moscow like a conquered enemy's territory. I shall not speak much about it. The newspapers and magazines have devoted much space to those days, and there are special books already that tell the whole story. Hundreds of people were killed in Moscow. Why, I ask, were those people in Moscow killed? Was it because the ignorant and poor workers, fooled by the

provocateur manifesto of Nicholas II and by the provocateur policy of his Government, raised the banner of revolt against their oppressors under whose yoke they have slaved for centuries? I killed Mien as the murderer of the fighters for freedom, as the murderer of the innocent people whose blood has been shed on the streets of Moscow.

"In time of peace Mien was busy training the soldiers. He tried to get in closer touch with the soldiers, in order to directly exert his influence over them and cultivate in them slavish obedience and loyalty to the criminal Government. In this fashion was he training them as future murderers of their brothers and their own fathers. I shot Mien as the Commander of the Semionovsky Regiment, who inculcated in the peasant-soldiers the spirit of active hostility toward the movement of the masses for their emancipation.

"Nicholas II, like Ivan the Terrible, has surrounded himself with a staff of cruel body-guards. People like Mien of Moscow, or the notorious Orlov of the Baltic region, or Trepov, the organizer of massacres, surround his throne. The hands of every one of them are stained with the blood of the people. In killing one of Nicholas' body-guards I want to remind him that just as the pillars supporting his throne are being hewed down, so may in time the throne itself topple over.

"During the cross-examination I was asked: 'Who gave you the right to kill?' As a member of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists I will give the same answer that my comrades have given before me. The party has decided to respond to the bloody terror practiced by the Government, with red terror. The terror to which the party resorts has been forced upon us by the Government. The terror practiced by the party has been called into existence through the fault of the Government. And as one who comes from the ranks of the people,—I am of common descent: my father is a soldier, my mother is a peasant woman,—I ask you in the name of the people: 'Who gave you the right to keep us for centuries in ignorance and poverty, in prisons and in exile, who gave you the right to send us to the gallows, and to shoot, and

kill us by the hundreds? Who gave you that right?' You yourselves took it by virtue of your might, you have legalized this right by laws of your own making, and the clergymen have sanctioned this right for you. But now a new right is coming into being, a right which is by far more humane than your heartless law. You have declared a relentless war against this right which is bound to prevail in the future. You know well that with the extinction of your inhuman law, you, who feed upon it as the jackals feed on carcasses, will also perish. And we who come from the people, we, fighters for the people's liberty, have the courage and the right to fight you, the representatives of autocratic and bureaucratic lawlessness, we feel in us the physical and the moral strength to fight for our rights with armed force.

"I shall tell briefly the story of my life. As soon as I completed the course of study in the teachers' training school, I was sent to teach in one of the remote corners of the Province of Lifland, in one of the schools maintained by the Government. The Government was occupied, as it still is, with the russification of the Baltic Provinces, and for this purpose schools were built and Russian men and women were sent to teach the natives. The locality where I taught was very poor. On three sides it bordered upon forests and on the fourth side was Lake Paypus. The landscape was dreary, with nothing but fir and aspen trees. The natives were exceedingly poor. They had no land. Alexander II, if I remember aright, freed them without giving them any land. All the land remained in the hands of their barons and in the hands of the Government. They lived on what the lake yielded, that is their only occupation was fishing. As one who had grown up in poverty, I was not startled by their poverty, I only marvelled how people could live under such conditions without fighting for a better future; how one could live without a single ray of light or hope on the dark horizon! But outside of the school I could not work as I did not know the native tongue. In school I suffered morally because I had to conduct the studies in Russian. It was painful to see a little pupil look at me so helplessly and pitifully when I demanded

that he speak only Russian. 'Why can't I speak my own language?' was the question I could read in his sad eyes. It was painful to hear 17—18-year-old boys, in the higher grades, boys who did not know their own history abounding in facts and events, relate for me the history of the family feuds among the descendants of Oleg and Rurik. I do not mean to say that any people who think it necessary and proper to study the language and history of the neighbors with whom they are in close touch, should not do so. But the russification of the Baltic Provinces has tended to retard the national and cultural development of the Provinces. After working in Lifland for a year, I went to teach Russian children in the school supported by the Zemstvos, in the district of Peterhoff, in the Province of Petersburg. Conditions here were such: in front of the school lived a gendarme, behind the school lived a police official, on the mountain nearby lived a priest, next to him a clergyman, and all of them were constantly reporting me to my superiors. If I arranged popular readings or discussions of the most innocent nature, the clergyman reported to the inspector that 'the school teacher was engaged in discussions and readings which had nothing to do with the regular school work,' the priest kept busy writing to his superiors that the teacher was founding sects, spreading Tolstoy's doctrines, and demoralizing the younger generation. If I arranged theatrical performances, the police official and gendarme would immediately get busy. As a consequence, the inspector, the school board and the Governor were constantly calling on me for explanations. Two and a half years I taught in that village, until the school board finally dismissed me. I gave up my profession without regret. As a result of my experiences, I have come to the following conclusions: I cannot share with the people even that meager knowledge which I myself possess, I cannot open the eyes of the people to the conditions in which they exist, I cannot point out to them the real causes of their misery. I saw that under such circumstances one could not even dream about the harmonious development of the spirit and intellect of the individual. I saw the necessity for first creating the conditions

under which the development of what is best in human nature will be possible. I saw the prime necessity for the struggle with the autocratic and despotic Government. I became a revolutionist.

"Soon after I was dismissed, they arrested me. I spent a year in jail and in the fortress. They released me, and two weeks later they arrested me again. This time they kept me eight months. After I was freed for the second time, I fled abroad. Abroad, as well as after my return to Russia, I worked as a member of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists. Under the influence of the jail and the persecutions of the Government, the revolutionary spirit was definitely strengthened in me. I saw clearly that the Tzar, if not a tyrant and a despot, is a tool for the enslaving of the masses. To govern, from the autocracy's point of view, means to rob, burn and kill. The history of the Russian people is written in letters of blood.

"I saw clearly that the autocratic and bureaucratic superstructure rests on the armed force of the Government, and is able to maintain itself only through the constant practice of bloody terror, on the part of those steering our ship of State. And life itself has taught me as follows: you cannot create anything new without first destroying the old; if you cannot pierce an idea with a bayonet, neither can you resist the power of the bayonet with ideas only. I became a terrorist.

"The autocratic and bureaucratic regime is approaching its end. Already the defeat of the Government during the senseless Japanese War has shown that it is nearing its downfall. The strike which took place in October frightened the Government. To pacify the country, the Government declared that it would give the country liberty. At the same time, while it was promising the people freedom, the Government was sending punitive expeditions to the villages and organizing bloody massacres in the cities. This strange period of 'liberty' did not last more than a month. Again leaden clouds of repressions appeared on the horizon. The people were not appeased. The Government decided to create the Duma as a

support for the rotting foundations. Neither the organization of the Black Hundreds nor any other attempts of the Government to call a conservative monarchical Duma were of any avail. The Duma proved a liberal one. At one time the Government suffered the just attacks of the Duma,—as it saw no serious harm in being called names,—but its patience was exhausted when the members of the Duma decided to issue a manifesto to the masses confirming the confiscation of privately owned land. The owners began to talk, the rulers became excited, and the Duma was disbanded. Now we are again living through a period of repressions. But all these measures of the Government are futile. No repressions, no arrests, no jails, no exile, no gallows, no hard-labor, no punitive expeditions, no massacre can check the movement of the masses who are rising!

"You will sentence me to death. But wherever I die,—on the scaffold, in exile, or elsewhere,—I will die with one thought: 'Forgive me, my people! There was so little I could give you—only my life.' And I shall die with the firm faith that the day will come, when, as the poet has it,

'The throne will topple over,
And the Sun of Liberty will rise
Above the vast plains of Russia.' "

On the twenty-sixth of August sentence was pronounced—death. . . .

Konopliannikova was given the right to appeal from this decision within two days. She smiled as she listened to the sentence, prepared in advance, and declined the privilege of appeal to any other Court.

A day after the trial Konopliannikova saw her sister, who came to the Fortress of St. Peter and Paul. Their conversation lasted fifteen minutes. The sister was not allowed to enter the cell, and prison bars separated the two sisters during their last meeting.

The "Novoye Vremia"* announced on Sunday, August 28, that the sentence had been submitted for approval to Grand Duke Nicholai Nicholaevitch, who was then Military Commander of St. Petersburg.† On Monday the same paper announced that the sentence had been approved and that orders had been given to execute it.

Konopliannikova was executed in the Fortress of Schlüsselburg. She went to her death as one would go to a holiday festivity. She knew that her death would mean another defeat for her enemies and a new victory for the fighters for freedom.

Before the execution the Prosecutor asked Konopliannikova whether she would not leave a written message to her relatives or friends. He gave her his word of honor that all she would ask would be done and that it would remain a secret, but she declined the favor. Then he suggested that she give him a verbal message, and he promised to fulfill her wish and to treat it as strictly confidential. She thought for a while, and again refused.

She mounted the scaffold in absolute calm. She was asked to take off her collar. She began to remove the collar button, but for some reason she could not manage to do it. So she tore the collar open and threw it on the ground. This was the only moment when she showed her emotion, during the preparations for the execution.

The executioner approached her and was about to seize her to lead her over to the scaffold. She asked not to be touched and only to be shown how to tighten the loop. Then she put it on herself, very calmly, tightened it, and herself threw the bench from under her feet.

The official who was reading the sentence could not bear the sight, his voice gave way and his hands began to tremble. His neighbor snatched the paper from him and hurriedly read it through.

*A St. Petersburg daily which, under the old regime, was considered semi-official.

†Later, under the old regime, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armies.

One of the soldiers fainted at the sight of a woman being hanged. The strain was evidently too great even for a soldier's nerves.

THE epoch of the bloody punitive expeditions against the revolutionists, in the end of 1905 and in the beginning of 1906, is closely connected with the name of another Russian woman-revolutionist, Maria Spiridonova, who at present, after her return from ten years of hard-labor imprisonment in Siberia, plays an important role in Russia's political life, as one of the leaders of the left wing of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists.*

Maria Spiridonova, a member of the Fighting Organization of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, shot the reactionary Governor of the Province of Tambov, Lujenovsky. Here is how she herself describes the act and her arrest, which followed immediately:

"I entered the railroad-car in which Lujenovsky was seated, and from a distance of 12 to 13 feet I fired at him. . . . I covered my face with my hands, but with the butt-ends of their rifles they beat my hands away from my face. Then a Cossack officer, snatching hold of my braids, lifted me up by them, and with all his might threw me on the platform. . . . Then some one caught hold of my foot and dragged me down the stairs, my head banging against each stair. I was hauled into a cab by my braids. . . .

"With his foot, the Cossack officer, Zhdanov, kicked me into the corner of the cell, where another Cossack officer, waiting for me, would trample me with his feet, and hurl me back to Zhdanov, who jumped on my neck. . . . Then they stripped off my clothes, whipped me with knouts, swearing all the time, and constantly saying: 'Now, Miss, make a fiery speech!' With one of my eyes I could not see anything and the right side of my face was terribly mauled. They pinched that cheek and asked maliciously: 'Does it hurt, my dear? Say, tell us,

*Recently Spiridonova issued a manifesto against the ratification of the German "peace," declaring that this kind of peace will deprive the peasants of their liberty and land.

who are your comrades?' . . . They tore my hair out one by one, meanwhile asking: 'Who are the other revolutionaries?' They extinguished lighted cigarettes against my body and shouted at me: 'Now cry out, you ———!'

"I testified as follows: 'Yes, I deliberately set out to kill Lujenovsky, in accordance with the decision of the Tambov Committee of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists. He was tried because he has brutally flogged and tortured the peasants during the agrarian and political disturbances, and because of his murderous adventures in the city of Borisogliebsk while he was Chief of the Secret Service Police; also for the organization of the Black Hundred in Tambov and as an answer to the declaration of martial law in Tambov and other districts. The Tambov Committee of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists condemned Lujenovsky. Fully approving the sentence and fully conscious of the meaning of my act, I took upon myself the execution of the sentence.'

"The preliminary hearing is over. I am still very ill and am often delirious. If they kill me, I shall die calmly and with the feeling that I have done something worth doing."*

*It is only for the want of space that we do not mention here the many other courageous women who, at that time, following the glorious revolutionary traditions established by Sophia Perovskaya and Breshko-Breshkovskaya, engaged the enemies of the Russian people in open, face-to-face battle. Among them, the following are worthy of special mentioning: Bitzenko, Izmailovich, Ezerskaya, Fialka, and Maria Schkolnik.

CHAPTER XII

The First and the Second Dumas

AS the time for the elections to the First Duma was fast approaching, the Tzar's Government proceeded to further limit the few powers it had originally granted that body. New fundamental laws were enacted. The Imperial Council was to become the upper chamber and have equal rights with the Duma. But as one-half the members of the Imperial Council were to be appointed by the Tzar and the other half elected from Universities, Bourse Committees, Zemstvos, the Clergy and the Nobility, it can readily be seen how this upper Chamber could be used to nullify the wishes of the Duma. In addition, it was proclaimed that the Tzar reserved the right to declare war and make peace, to prorogue and summon the Duma and conclude international treaties, as his prerogative. In fact, he was to remain in autocratic power.

The Socialists had decided to boycott the Duma, nevertheless, the results of the elections gave the oppositional forces the majority in the House. The Constitutional-Democrats, or the Cadets, as this party is frequently called, were in the lead. The returns showed the election of such well-known liberals as Prince E. G. Lvov, S. A. Muromtzev, I. I. Petrunkevitch, F. I. Rodichev, V. D. Nabokov and M. M. Vinaver. Prof. Paul Milyukov had been barred from the elections by the Government because of his activities in the Union of Unions.

The Tzar continued on his path of despotism. On April 24 he replaced his ministry by a still more reactionary one. Goremykin, an old bureaucrat with an established reactionary reputation, became Prime Minister. Stolypin, who, as Governor of Saratov, had made a record for himself as a staunch adherent of the Tzar's regime, was appointed Minister of Interior. At the head of the Ministry of Agriculture, the department that dealt with the agrarian problems, Nicholas II placed Stishinsky, a large landowner, extremely hostile to the peasantry. Shcheglovitov, a former liberal but now willing to sell himself for a career, was appointed Minister of Justice.

On April 27, 1906, the day of the opening of the Duma, St. Petersburg looked like a city beleaguered. Military patrols rode up and down the streets of the Capital and soldiers filled the Square before the Winter Palace. The bridges on the Nieva were closed to keep the workingmen from approaching the Winter Palace and the Duma. The people showed no signs of rejoicing on this day of the opening of the first Russian Parliament, for the realization of which thousands upon thousands had suffered exile in far-away out-post Siberian villages, imprisonment in dungeons, knouting and fiendish maltreatment.

The Tzar's speech, when he received the deputies to the First Duma, was very non-committal. The Tavrichesky Palace had been given over as a meeting place for the representatives of the people. Going from the Winter Palace to the Tavrichesky Palace, the members of the Duma had to pass by several prisons. Through the prison bars pale faces strained, and shouts of "Amnesty!" "Amnesty!" followed the deputies to their meeting place. The people on the street pressed as close to their representatives as the troops would permit them, and here and there was heard the call: "Amnesty!" The deputies were deeply affected and immediately after the formalities of opening the Duma, the oldest member of the Duma, I. I. Petrunkevitch, in a speech that echoed the pent-up feelings of the other members, called upon the Duma to request amnesty for the political prisoners, as their first duty. Between seventy and eighty thousand of Russia's best men and women were at that very moment being treated like common criminals, for their part in the battle against Tzarism.

In an address presented to the Tzar, the First Duma outlined a full program of reforms urgently needed for the country's welfare. The Parliament demanded full political freedom, amnesty for all who had been imprisoned for political or religious convictions, the abolition of capital punishment, responsibility of the Cabinet to the Legislative Bodies, autonomy for Poland and Finland, the democratization of the laws governing elections to the Imperial Duma and the organs of

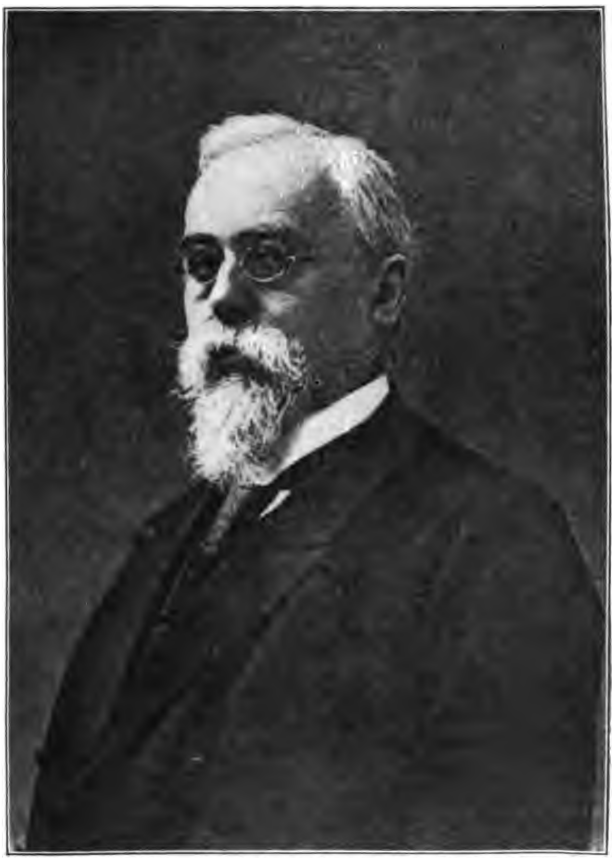
local self-government,—the Municipalities and Zemstvos,—the expropriation of State and private lands with transmission to the peasants, radical changes in the social legislation referring to the workingmen, etc. If the program of the First Duma had been carried out, Russia would have become a constitutional monarchy of the English type, with very progressive social legislation.

Goremykin answered the Duma in a rebuking speech, repudiating all its demands, in the name of the Tzar's Government. At session after session the deputies rehearsed the country's needs and the Government's misdeeds, but the Duma's interpellations were answered by the Ministers in such a way that the work of the Duma could bring no practical results.

When the Duma showed its intention to demand action on the agrarian problem, and to let the people know the attitude of the Government towards the popular representatives, Nicholas II decided that he wanted no more of that annoying body. On July 8, seventy-two days after its inception, troops surrounded the Tavrichesky Palace and the Duma was declared dissolved. The decree of dissolution was posted in the streets.

Immediately after the forced dissolution, about two hundred members of the Duma met at Viborg, in Finland. From there they issued a Manifesto to the people, calling attention to the fact that Russia's only lawful body of representatives had been dissolved for demanding that the Government meet the country's most urgent needs. It pointed out that though another Duma had been promised within seven months, the country would remain without popular representation for so long a period, with a Ministry that had shown its utter incapacity for directing the interests of Russia. It declared that the Government would use these seven months to suppress the movement for popular government. It warned the people that if the Government succeeded in suppressing this movement, there would be no Duma.

It called upon the citizens of Russia to stand up for their rights, and pointed out a strong weapon: "The Government has no right," said the Viborg Manifesto, "without the consent



PROFESSOR S. A. MUROMTZEV

President of the First Duma. Prominent lawyer and scientist, with a European reputation for his works on Roman and civil law. Lectured at the University of Moscow. Died in the fall of 1910.

of the people's representatives, to collect taxes from the people or to call them for military duty. Therefore, because the Government has dissolved the Imperial Duma, you have the right to refuse both recruits and money. If the Government contracts loans to secure funds, such loans, contracted without the approval of the people's representatives, will be invalid; the Russian people will never acknowledge them and will not pay them. Until the people's representatives are convened do not give a kopeck for the treasury, nor a recruit for the army."

The signers of this Manifesto were sentenced to three months' imprisonment and deprived of electoral rights. But the Socialists and the Labor Group of the Duma* considered this appeal for passive resistance insufficient, and they issued appeals to the workers, the peasants, the army, the navy, calling the whole people to an armed uprising.

The response of the masses was weak, and the army remained loyal to its autocratic masters. The Government continued its reactionary policy. Nevertheless, preparations went on for elections to the Second Duma. Stolypin replaced Goremykin as Premier. The police were encouraged, nay ordered, to break up meetings, to arrest, to exile, to take any measures necessary to put "undesirable" candidates where they could do no harm. The Holy Synod instructed priests to sow the seeds of reaction.

The Government lived up to the First Duma's prediction. It took every possible measure to suppress the oppositional movement. Court-martials behind closed doors, executions without any form of trial became every-day occurrences.

In spite and probably because of the Government's tactics, the elections resulted in the Socialists gaining control of almost one-third of the Duma. They had not boycotted the elections this time. When the Second Duma was convened, it showed two powerful Socialist factions: the Social-Democrats and the Socialists-Revolutionists, each with a membership of over sixty deputies.

The spirit of the Cadets had simmered down. They had

*In spite of the Socialists' official boycott of the Duma, a few deputies, after being elected, proclaimed themselves Social-Democrats. In addition, the most radical and socialistically-inclined peasants' deputies organized in the Labor Group, which acted in accord with the group of Socialists.

decided to go slowly, do what they could, but avoid conflict with the Government, as far as possible. And to the stabilizing influence of the Cadets is due the fact that the Second Duma lasted the brief time it did exist, over three months. The Cadets served as the ballast in the terrible encounters between the extreme right wing, composed of tools of the Ministry, and the extreme left wing, the Socialists. The Socialists and the Cadets attacked Stolypin's measures of repression, the daily executions, the court-martials, the banishments. Stolypin replied with his famous: "First—pacification, then—reforms."

On June 1st the Premier accused the Social-Democrats of having organized a military plot and demanded that the Duma hand over all its Social-Democrats to the Government. While the Duma discussed the Government's demands, a Tzar's decree, issued on June 3rd, dissolved it. That same day, the Tzar, declaring his divine prerogative to enact and repeal laws, changed the electoral law to serve his ends. This, in spite of the fact that according to the new fundamental laws, no law could be enacted without the approval of the Duma. Entire classes were disfranchised. Further modifications gave the large landed proprietors more than half the total number of electoral votes. On this very far from democratic law were based the elections to the Third and Fourth Dumas.

The First and Second Dumas showed that the famous prophesy of the Decembrists, their answer to the greeting sent them, into Siberia, by Russia's greatest national poet, Pushkin, —their prophesy: "The spark will burst into flame,"—had been fulfilled. A small group of young officers started the Russian Revolutionary Movement in 1825. Eighty years later, in 1905, there were already revolutionary masses engaged in open conflict with the Tzar's Government.

The First and Second Dumas represented the fighting vanguard of the Russian Democracy, and on following pages we present the most prominent members of the Dumas, together with a group of the most typical of them.

N. A. BORODIN
Born 1861. Member of Russian Extraordinary Mission to the U. S., after the March Revolution.

PRINCE P. D. DOLGORUKOV
Born 1866. Prominent Zemstvo leader. Vice-President of the Duma.

PROF. M. J. GERTZENSTEIN
Born 1859. Author of many works on economic subjects. Assassinated by "Black Hundred."

PROF. N. A. GREDESKUL
Born 1864. Second Vice-President of the Duma.

PROF. N. I. KAREYEV
Born 1850. Prominent historian. In 1905 was imprisoned in the Fortress of St. Peter and Paul.

E. I. KEDRIN
Born 1862. Nobleman. In 1905 was imprisoned in the Fortress of St. Peter and Paul.

PROF. F. F. KOKOSHKIN
Born 1871. After the Bolsheviki revolt, in November, 1917, was arrested and assassinated.

PROF. S. A. KOTLAREVSKY
Born 1873. Lecturer at the University of Moscow.

A. R. LEDNITSKY
Born 1866. Prominent Polish leader.

MEMBERS OF THE FIRST DUMA. CONSTITUTIONAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY

S. C. LEVIN
Born 1867. Now residing in the United States. Active in the Zionist movement.

PRINCE G. E. LVOV
Born 1861. Prominent Zemstvo leader. President of the All-Russian Union of Zemstvos. Prime Minister in the first Provisional Government.

N. N. LVOV
Born 1867. Prominent Zemstvo worker.

V. D. NABOKOV
Born 1869. Prominent criminologist. One of the leaders of the Constitutional-Democratic Party.

PROF. P. I. NOVGORODTZEV
Born 1866. Director of the Moscow Commercial Institute. Lecturer at the Moscow University.

FATHER N. OGNIEV
One of the prominent speakers in the Duma.

M. J. OSTROGORSKY
Born 1852. Author of many well-known works on history and jurisprudence.

PROF. L. J. PETRAZHITZKY
Born 1867. Enjoys world-wide reputation as authority on civil law and the philosophy of law.

I. I. PETRUNKEVITCH
Born 1844. Prominent Zemstvo leader. One of the founders of the Constitutional-Democratic-Party.

MEMBERS OF THE FIRST DUMA. CONSTITUTIONAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY

M. I. PETRUNKEVITCH, M.D.
Born 1845. Prominent municipal worker.

P. A. SADIRIN
Born 1877. One of the most active workers in the co-operative movement in Russia.

PRINCE D.I. SCHAKHOVSKOY
Born 1861. Prominent Zemstvo leader. Minister of Public Welfare in Kerensky's Cabinet.

PROF. E. N. SCHEPKIN
Born 1860. Lecturer at the University of Moscow.

PROF. G.F. SHERSHENEVITCH
Born 1863. Prominent scientist. Lectured on civil and commercial law at the Kazan and Moscow Universities. Died in 1913.

M. M. VINAVER
Born 1863. Prominent lawyer. One of the Jewish leaders in Russia.

V. E. YAKUSHKIN
Born 1856. Ass't. Professor at the University of Moscow. Prominent publicist. Died in 1912.

G. B. YOLLOS
Born 1859. Prominent publicist. Editor of the "Russkiya Viedomosti." Assassinated by the "Black Hundred."

MEMBERS OF THE FIRST DUMA. CONSTITUTIONAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY

PROF. MAXIM M. KOVALEVSKY
Born 1851. World known historian, economist and jurist. Died in 1916.

GEN. V. D. KUZMIN-KARAVAYEV
Born 1859. Former lecturer at the Academy of Military Jurisprudence.

PRINCE S. D. URUSOV
Former Ass't Minister of Interior. Turned against the old regime and became one of the liberal leaders in Russia.

MEMBERS OF THE FIRST DUMA. PARTY OF DEMOCRATIC REFORMS

A. F. ALADIN
Born 1873. One of the leaders of the Labor Group.

S. V. ANIKIN
Born 1869. Peasant. One of the leaders of the Labor Group.

S. I. BONDAREV
Born 1872. Son of peasant. Pedagogue.

L. M. BRAMSON
Born 1869. Lawyer and journalist.

J. E. DITZ
Born 1864. Lawyer and journalist.

V. R. JACOBSON
Born 1861. Lawyer.

MEMBERS OF THE FIRST DUMA. LABOR GROUP

S. M. KORNILIEV, M.D.
Born 1869. Graduate of Kazan University.

F. D. KRIUKOV
Pedagogue, publicist and novelist.

I. O. KUZNETZOV
Born 1879. Peasant. Public School education.

I. E. LAVRENTEV
Born 1879. Peasant. Public School teacher.

K. V. LAVRSKY
Born 1844. Son of priest.

V. I. LUNIN
Born 1843. Lawyer. Was arrested several times for political activities.

E. P. MAMAEV
Born 1868. Peasant. Public School education.

N. I. MOREV
Born 1871. Representative of the Cossacks.

F. M. ONIPKO
Born 1879. Peasant. One of the leaders of the Labor Group.

MEMBERS OF THE FIRST DUMA. LABOR GROUP

I. E. SOLOMKA
Born 1873. Peasant. Public School education.

T. I. SEDELNIKOV
Born 1871. Surveyor. Publicist. One of the leaders of the Labor Group.

V. S. VIKHAREV
Born 1875. Peasant. Public School education.

MEMBERS OF THE FIRST DUMA. LABOR GROUP

J. A. BARATOV
Born 1872. Lawyer. Member of Tiflis Municipal Duma.

S. D. DZHAPARIDZE
Born 1870. Georgian. Lawyer. Was imprisoned for political activities.

P. A. ERSHOV
Born 1878. Peasant. Public School education.

I. G. GOMARTELLI, M.D.
Born 1875. Georgian. Well-known publicist.

D. J. MEDVEDIEV
Born 1866. Workingman.

MEMBERS OF THE FIRST DUMA. SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY

M. I. MIKHAILICHENKO
Born1871. Workman. Public School education.

I. I. RAMISHVILLI
Born 1859. Georgian peasant. Teacher. Imprisoned several times for political activities.

I. F. SAVELIEV
Born 1874. Workingman.

I. E. SHUVALOV
Born 1875. Peasant.

S N. TSERETELLI
Born 1870. Former priest. Several times arrested for political activities.

N. N. ZHORDANIA
Born 1870. Journalist. Leader of the Social-Democrat faction in the Duma.

MEMBERS OF THE FIRST DUMA. SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY

F. A. GOLOVIN
Born 1867. Nobleman. Chairman of Moscow Zemstvo. President of the Second Duma.

M. S. ADZHEMOV
Born 1878. Lawyer. One of the leaders in the Constitutional-Democratic Party.

A. I. BAKUNIN, M. D.
Born 1875. Imprisoned several times for political activities. Nephew of the famous Anarchist leader.

K. L. BARDISH
Born 1867. Representative of the Cossacks. Former member of the First Duma.

S. U. BULGAKOV
Born 1871. Prominent economist and philosopher. Professor at the Moscow University.

M. V. CHELNOKOV
Born 1863. Secretary of the Second Duma. During the War, President of the Union of Municipalities.

C. C. CHERNOSVITOV
Born 1866. Lawyer. Former member of the First Duma.

PRINCE P. D. DOLGORUKOV
Born 1866. President of the Central Committee of the Constitutional-Democratic Party.

M. P. FEDOROV
Born 1845. Prominent in railroad, commercial and municipal circles.

MEMBERS OF THE SECOND DUMA. CONSTITUTIONAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY

I. V. GESSEN
Born 1866. Prominent lawyer. Arrested in 1905 and imprisoned in the Fortress of St. Peter and Paul.

V. M. GESSEN
Born 1868. Assistant Professor at the Petrograd University.

P. P. IURENEV
Born 1874. Engineer. Secretary of Means of Communication in Kerensky's Cabinet.

A. A. KIZEVETTER
Born 1866. Prominent publicist. Professor at the Moscow University.

A. P. KOZLOV
Born 1853. Peasant. Imprisoned for political activities.

SH. KULBAKOV
Born 1857. Pedagogue. Mohammedan faith.

N. N. KUTLER
Born 1859. Former Minister of Agriculture in Count Witte's Cabinet.

GEN. V. D. KUZMIN-KARAVAYEV
Born 1859. Former member of the First Duma.

V. A. MAKLAKOV
Born 1870. Prominent lawyer and political leader.

MEMBERS OF THE SECOND DUMA. CONSTITUTIONAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY

D. A. PERELESHIN
Born 1862. Lawyer. Served a three years' sentence at the Fortress of St. Peter and Paul.

FATHER G. PETROV
Born 1868. Priest. Prominent publicist. Forced to resign from the clergy because of his radical views.

F. I. RODICHEV
Born 1856. Prominent Zemstvo leader. Secretary for Finland in the Provisional Government.

A. I. SHINGARIOV, M. D.
Born 1867. Secretary of Agriculture and later of Finance in the Provisional Government. Arrested and assassinated after the Bolsheviki revolt.

SH. SH. SIRTLANOV
Born 1847. Judge. Formerly member of the First Duma.

A. A. STACHOVICH
Born 1858. Nobleman. Zemstvo worker and publicist.

M. A. STACHOVICH
Born 1861. Formerly member of the First Duma.

P. B. STRUVE
Born 1870. Prominent economist and publicist.

N. V. TESLENKO
Born 1870. Lawyer. Prominent criminologist.

MEMBERS OF THE SECOND DUMA. CONSTITUTIONAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY

G. I. BASKIN
Born 1866. Agriculturist. Active worker in the Zemstvos.

M. I. BEREZIN
Born 1864. Second Vice-President of the Second Duma.

A. A. BULAT
Born 1873. Lawyer. One of the leaders in the Labor Group.

A. R. DAVIDOV
Born 1862. Peasant. Public School education.

V. E. ERSHOV
Peasant. Public School education.

I. E. PIANYKH
Born 1865. Peasant. Public School education.

M. K. POPOV, M.D.
Born 1852. Municipal worker.

J. M. SITIN
Born 1860. Peasant. Public School education.

V. P. USPENSKY, M.D.
Born 1869. Assistant Secretary of the Second Duma.

MEMBERS OF THE SECOND DUMA. LABOR GROUP

G. A. ALEXINSKY
Born 1879. One of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Faction in the Duma.

P. A. ANIKIN
Born 1874. Pedagogue. Was arrested in 1905 for political activities.

G. I. BELOUSOV
Born 1876. Workingman. After dissolution of Duma came to U. S., where he died in January, 1917.

A. L. DZHAPARIDZE
Born 1875. Georgian publicist.

M. M. FOMICHEV
Born 1882. Workingman.

I. A. GUBARIEV
Born 1876. Workingman. Public School education.

I. A. GUMENKO
Born 1869. Workingman.

I. N. NAGIKH
Born 1880. Workingman.

V. P. NALIVKIN
Born 1852. Former Assistant to the Military Governor of the Fergan District.

MEMBERS OF THE SECOND DUMA. SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY

A. V. KALININ
Born 1882. Workingman.

C. E. KANDELAK
Born 1879. Workingman. Served prison term of twenty-six months for political activities.

I. I. KIRIYENKO
Born 1877. Was imprisoned several times for political activities.

N. J. KONSHIN
Born 1864. Lawyer. Formerly member of the First Duma.

I. A. PETROV
Born 1862. Workingman.

I. R. ROMANOV
Born 1881. Workingman. Was imprisoned several times for political activities.

V. G. SAKHNO
Born 1864. Peasant.

A. A. SHPAGIN
Born 1869. Workingman. Public School education.

I. G. TSERETELLI
Born 1882. Secretary of Post and Telegraph and later of the Interior in the Provisional Government.

MEMBERS OF THE SECOND DUMA. SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY

V. A. VACKHRUSHEV
Born 1864. Workingman. Trade-School education.

P. A. ZIRIANOV
Peasant. Public School education.

A. G. ZURABOV
Born 1873. Journalist. Was imprisoned and exiled for political activities.

MEMBERS OF THE SECOND DUMA. SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY

A. I. AFANASIYEV
Peasant. Public School education.

V. G. ARKHANGELSKY
Born 1868. One of the leaders of the Socialist-Revolutionist Faction in the Duma.

M. V. BATUROV
Born 1857. Peasant.

N. I. DOLGOPOLOV, M.D.
Born 1857. Was arrested in 1888 and exiled to Siberia. Was exiled to Astrakhan in 1906.

N. I. EMELIANOV
Born 1848. Farmer.

M. S. FOKEYEV
Born 1871. Peasant. Through self-education entered Moscow University. Member of the Russian Bar.

MEMBERS OF THE SECOND DUMA.
PARTY OF SOCIALISTS-REVOLUTIONISTS

G. I. KABAKOV
Workingman. Was imprisoned over two years for political activities.

I. P. KHVOROSTUKHIN
Born 1879. Peasant. Public School education.

U. S. KIRNOSOV
Born 1847. Peasant.

FATHER
K. A. KOLOKOLNIKOV
Priest. Was persecuted for radical views.

N. J. OVODOV
Born 1855. Peasant. Public School education.

PR. I. RZHEKHIN
Born 1876. Publicist. Was imprisoned and exiled for political activities.

P. S. SHIRSKY
Born 1872. Lawyer. Was imprisoned and exiled for political activities.

P. S. SIGOV
Born 1875. High School graduate.

D. V. URAZOV, M.D.
Graduate of the Moscow University.

MEMBERS OF THE SECOND DUMA.
PARTY OF SOCIALISTS-REVOLUTIONISTS

CHAPTER XIII

The Coming of the Second Revolution

AFTER the dissolution of the Second Duma, Stolypin was crazed by his power. He rioted in persecutions of nationalities and religions. The Jews were baited worse than ever, and anti-Semitism was openly encouraged by the Government. The famous Beilis case was but one of the many efforts of the Government to excite religious hatred by reviving the accusation of ritual murder, a relic of the religious persecutions of the Middle Ages.

Kokovtzev, as Minister of Finance, had dared to declare from the Duma platform: "Thank God, we have no parliament." After Stolypin was assassinated, this man succeeded him and carried on his policies. As the Russian civil law did not permit capital punishment, court-martials were called into existence continuously, and executions went on relentlessly. University students were exiled, imprisoned, executed. Prominent professors were forced to resign and men willing to bow to autocracy's dictates filled their places.

All these repressive measures could not stop the development of revolutionary thought and feeling in the country. The first Revolution, the Revolution of 1905, did not succeed,—a second had to come. The principal revolutionary forces during the first uprising in Russia were the workers, who demanded political freedom, the right to organize, and progressive measures in social legislation; the peasants, whose chief demand was land and equality of rights with all other classes in Russia; the different nationalities, the Polish, Finnish, Jewish, and other elements who demanded autonomy or equal rights; the capitalistic class, the bourgeoisie which had become an influential factor in Russia's economic life with the development of capitalism. The needs of none of these groups were satisfied. The country did not receive even elementary political rights, the workers did not receive the right to organize, the peasants received no land, Finland was deprived of her Constitution,

Poland was as oppressed as before, the sufferings of the Jews became daily more and more unbearable.

The first Revolution brought the country no gains, and the reaction which came in the middle of 1906 was a reaction more of psychological than of sociological nature. The great country quieted down almost completely, not because the great tasks of the first Revolution were accomplished, but because the country was exhausted from the enervating battle with the old regime. The demands made by the First Duma, very much more moderate than the country it represented, showed that the entire nation was opposed to the Tzar's Government. But the nobility was still with the Tzar, and the Government had at its service the powerful machinery of the police and almost the entire army, officered mostly by Russian noblemen, blindly devoted to the throne.

The reaction, the darkest reaction in Russia's national history, began in the middle of 1906. It is interesting to observe that the culminating point of this reaction was the Fall of 1910, when, in October, Professor S. A. Muromtzev, the President of the First Duma, the most respected citizen, the symbol of the longing for freedom in Russia, died, and in November,—Leo Tolstoy, the greatest genius Russia has contributed to the world's culture. These deaths seemed to awaken the great country. The hundreds of thousands of people on the streets of Moscow at the funeral of Professor Muromtzev, the thousands of people and delegations coming from all parts of Russia, on special trains, to the little village where Tolstoy was to be buried, the public speeches made in those days,—all these showed that the country was awakening from its deep sleep to new political and cultural activities.

The Fall of 1910 may be marked as the beginning of the new movement against the Tzar's Government. It had taken almost four years for the reaction to reach its lowest mark,—from the beginning of 1906 to the end of 1910,—and it took another four years for the country, awakened to political activities, to reach again the boiling point of revolution. In July, 1914, just before the war, 400,000 St. Petersburg workers went out on

political strike and the streets of St. Petersburg were covered with barricades.

This time the united country again faced the Government as its enemy. The same elements that had participated in the first Revolution faced the Tzar's Government, ready to fight. Now they were more experienced politically, and the moderate elements among them more determined than during the first Revolution. The cruel policy of the Government during the time of reaction and the illuminating speeches in the Duma, from day to day, explaining to the people the dramatic political situation in the country, had produced results. The moderate elements, who, terrified at the Socialists' demands during the first Revolution, had given their support to the Government, now abandoned it. In July, 1914, the Government again faced a united front of all the progressive forces of the country, a powerful coalition led, as in 1905, by the fighting vanguard of the Revolution, the St. Petersburg proletariat.

Then suddenly came the war, which was immediately recognized by all the progressive and almost all the revolutionary forces in Russia as the war of justice on the side of the Allies, as the war for freedom and democracy in Europe. Most of the revolutionary elements decided temporarily to abandon the internal conflict and to concentrate all the attention of the democratic forces on carrying on the war until German militarism be crushed. This was an invaluable service rendered, at this critical moment, by Russian Radical and Socialist leaders to their country and to all humanity. While Nicholas Lenine, who then had a very small following in the ranks of the Russian Socialists, in his paper, the "Social-Democrat," published in Switzerland, propagated the idea of the necessity of Russia's defeat for the sake of Russia's democratic progress, such prominent leaders as the old Prince Peter Kropotkin, as George Plekhanov, the founder of the Russian Social-Democracy, as Vladimir Bourtzeff and others indorsed the war on the side of the Allies, from the very beginning, and helped the Allied cause, as much as they could, by their powerful influence on the democratic masses

of Russia. Soon after the beginning of the war, the following Socialist Manifesto, signed by George Plekhanov, N. Avksentiev, B. Voronov, Leo Deutch, Grigory Alexinsky, I. Bunakov, A. Bach and others, was addressed to the Russian laboring masses:

"We, the undersigned, belong to the different shades of Russian socialistic thought. We differ on many things, but we firmly agree in that the defeat of Russia in her struggle with Germany would mean her defeat in her struggle for freedom, and we think that, guided by this conviction, our adherents in Russia must come together for a common service to their people, in the hour of the grave danger the country is now facing.

"We address ourselves to the politically conscious workingmen, peasants, artisans, clerks,—to all of them who earn their bread in the sweat of their brow, and who, suffering from the lack of means and want of political rights, are struggling for a better future for themselves, for their children, and for their brethren.

"We send them our hearty greeting, and persistently say to them: Listen to us in this fatal time, when the enemy has conquered the Western strongholds of Russia, has occupied an important part of our territory and is menacing Kiev, Petrograd and Moscow, these most important centres of our social life.

"Misinformed people may tell you that in defending yourselves from the German invasion, you support our old political regime. These people want to see Russia defeated because of their hatred of the Tzar's government. Like one of the heroes of our genius of satire, Shchedrin, they mix Fatherland with its temporary bosses. But Russia belongs not to the Tzar, but to the Russian working people. In defending Russia, the working people defend themselves, defend the road to their freedom. As we said before, the inevitable consequences of German victory would be the strengthening of our old regime.

"The Russian reactionaries understand this very thoroughly. In a faint, half-hearted manner are they defending Russia

from Germany. The Ministers who resigned recently, Maklakov and Shcheglovitov, presented a secret report to the Tzar, in November, 1914, in which they explained how advantageous it would be for the Tzar to make a separate peace with Germany. They understand that the defeat of Germany would be a defeat of the principles of monarchism, so dear to all European reactionaries.

"Our people will never forget the failure of the Tzar's Government to defend Russia. But if the progressive, the politically conscious people will not take part in the struggle against Germany, the Tzar's government will have an excuse for saying: 'It is not our fault that Germany defeats us; it is the fault of the revolutionists who have betrayed their country,' and this will vindicate the government in the eyes of the people.

"The political situation in Russia is such that only across the bridge of national defense can we reach freedom. Remember, we do not tell you, first victory against the external enemy and then revolution against the internal, the Tzar's government.

"In the course of events the defeat of the Tzar's government may serve as a necessary preliminary condition for and even as a guaranty of the elimination of the German danger. The French revolutionists of the end of the eighteenth century would never have been able to overcome the enemy, attacking France on all sides, had they not adopted such tactics only when the popular movement against the old regime became mature enough to render their efforts effective.

"Furthermore, you must not be embarrassed by the argument of those who believe that everyone that defends his country refuses thereby to take part in the struggle of the classes. These persons do not know what they are talking about.

"In the first place, in order that the struggle of the classes in Russia should be successful, certain social and political conditions must exist there. These conditions will not exist if Germany wins.

"In the second place, if the workingman of Russia cannot but defend himself against the exploitation of the Russian landed aristocrat and capitalist, it seems incomprehensible that he should remain inactive when the lasso of exploitation is being drawn about his neck by the German landed aristocrat (the Junker) and the German capitalist who are, unfortunately, at the present moment supported by a considerable part of the German proletariat that has turned traitor to its duty of solidarity with the proletariat of other countries.

"By striving to the utmost to cut this lasso of German imperialistic exploitation, the proletariat of Russia will continue the struggle of the classes in that form which at the present moment is most appropriate, fruitful and effective.

"It has been our country's fate once before to suffer from the bloody horrors of a hostile invasion. But never before did it have to defend itself against an enemy so well armed, so skillfully organized, so carefully prepared for his plundering enterprise as he is now.

"The position of the country is dangerous to the highest degree; therefore upon all of you, upon all the politically conscious children of the working people of Russia, lies an enormous responsibility.

"If you say to yourselves that it is immaterial to you and to your less developed brothers as to who wins in this great international collision going on now, and if you act accordingly, Russia will be crushed by Germany. And when Russia will be crushed by Germany, it will fare badly with the Allies. This does not need any demonstration.

"But if, on the contrary, you become convinced that the defeat of Russia will reflect badly upon the interests of the working population, and if you will help the self-defense of our country with all your forces, our country and her allies will escape the terrible danger menacing them.

"Therefore, go deeply into the situation. You make a great mistake if you imagine that it is not to the interests of the working people to defend our country. In reality, nobody's interests suffer more terribly from the invasion of an enemy than the interests of the working population.

"Take, for instance, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-'71. When the Germans besieged Paris and the cost of all the necessaries of life rose enormously, it was clear that the poor suffered much more than the rich. In the same way when Germany exacted five billions of contribution from vanquished France, this same, in the final count, was paid by the poor; for paying that contribution indirect taxation was greatly raised, the burden of which nearly entirely falls upon the lower classes.

"More than that. The most dangerous consequence to France, due to her defeat in 1870-'71, was the retardation of her economic development. In other words, the defeat of France badly reflected upon the contemporary interests of her people, and even more, upon her entire subsequent development.

"The defeat of Russia by Germany will much more injure our people than the defeat of France injured the French people. The war now exacts incredibly large expenditures. It is more difficult for Russia, a country economically backward, to bear that expenditure than for the wealthy States of Western Europe. Russia's back, even before the war, was burdened with a heavy State loan. Now this debt is growing by the hour, and vast regions of Russia are subject to wholesale devastation.

"If the Germans will win the final victory, they will demand from us an enormous contribution, in comparison with which the streams of gold that poured into victorious Germany from vanquished France, after the war of 1871, will seem a mere trifle.

"But that will not be all. The most consequent and outspoken heralds of German imperialism are even now saying that it is necessary to exact from Russia the cession of important territory, which should be cleared from the present population for the greater convenience of German settlers. Never before have plunderers, dreaming of despoiling a conquered people, displayed such cynical heartlessness!

"But for our vanquishers it will not be enough to exact an unheard-of enormous contribution and to tear up our

western border lands. Already, in 1904, Russia, being in a difficult situation, was obliged to conclude a commercial treaty with Germany, very disadvantageous to herself. The treaty hindered, at the same time, the development of our agriculture and the progress of our industries. It affected, with equal disadvantage, the interests of the farmers as well as of those engaged in industry. It is easy to imagine what kind of a treaty victorious German imperialism would impose upon us. In economic matters, Russia would become a German colony. Russia's further economic development would be greatly hindered if not altogether stopped. Degeneration and deprivation would be the result of German victory for an important part of the Russian working people.

"What will German victory bring to Western Europe? After all we have already said, it is needless to expatiate on how many of the unmerited economic calamities it will bring to the working population of the western countries, allied to Russia. We wish to draw your attention to the following: England, France, even Belgium and Italy, are, in a political sense, far ahead of the German Empire, which has not as yet grown up to a parliamentary regime. German victory over these countries would be the victory of the old over the new, and if the democratic ideal is dear to you, you must wish success to our western Allies.

"Indifference to the issue of this war would be, for us, equal to political suicide. The most important, the most vital interests of the proletariat and of the laboring peasantry demand of you an active participation in the defense of the country. . . . Your watchword must be victory over the foreign enemy. In an active movement toward such victory, the live forces of the people will become free and strong.

"Obedient to this watchword, you must be as wise as serpents. Although in your hearts may burn the flame of noble indignation, in your heads must reign, invariably, cold political reckoning. You must know that zeal without reason is sometimes worse than complete indifference. Every act of agitation in the rear of the army, fighting against the

enemy, would be equivalent to high treason, as it would be a service to the foreign enemy.

"The thunders of the war certainly cannot make the Russian manufacturers and merchants more idealistic than they were in time of peace. In the filling of the numerous orders, inevitable during the mobilization of industry for war needs, the capitalists will, as they are accustomed to, take great care of the interests of capital, and will not take care of the interests of hired labor. You will be entirely right if you wax indignant at their conduct. But in all cases, whenever you desire to answer by a strike, you must first think whether such action would not be detrimental to the cause of the defense of Russia.

"The private must be subject to the general. The workmen of every factory must remember that they would commit, without any doubt, the gravest mistake, if considering only their own interests, they forget how severely the interests of the entire Russian proletariat and peasantry would suffer from German victory.

"The tactics which can be defined by the motto, 'All or nothing,' is the tactics of anarchy, fully unworthy of the conscious representatives of the proletariat and peasantry. The General Staff of the German army would greet with pleasure the news that we had adopted such tactics. Believe us that this Staff is ready to help all those who would like to preach it in our country. They want trouble in Russia, they want strikes in England, they want everything that would facilitate the achievement of their conquering schemes.

"But you will not make them rejoice. You will not forget the words of our great fabulist: 'What the enemy advises is surely bad.' You must insist that all your representatives take the most active part in all organizations created now, under the pressure of public opinion, for the struggle with the foreign foe. Your representatives must, if possible, take part not only in the work of the special technical organizations, such as the War-Industrial Committees which have been created for the needs of the army, but also in all other organizations of social and political character.

"The situation is such that we cannot come to freedom in any other way than by the war of national defense."

Unfortunately, after a year of revolutionary development, since March, 1917, other tendencies than those obvious in this Manifesto have gained control over the Russian proletariat and especially over the Russian soldiers. Lenine's influence, at least temporarily, has overwhelmed the influence of George Plekhanov.

Before presenting, as far as possible, by documents, the development of the Russian democracy, during the year of the Revolution, which has brought her to the present crisis, we will supplement what we have said above, about the Russian Revolutionary Movement, with several pages devoted to those Russian revolutionists who may be called the spiritual leaders of the Russian Revolutionary Movement.

Part II

The Spiritual Leaders of the Revolutionary Movement in Russia

CHAPTER I

Mikhail Alexandrovich Bakunin

MIKHAIL A. BAKUNIN was born on the 8th of May, 1814, in the village of Priamukhino, in the Province of Tver. His father, who had been in the diplomatic service, had spent his youth in Florence and Naples, as attaché to the Russian Embassy. Having resigned from his office, he went to live on his family estate, and married an eighteen-year-old girl of the well-known Russian family of Muraviov. He was a liberal by conviction and had been a member of one of the Decembrist societies. After the events of December 14, 1825, he became sceptical about the liberal movement and decided to devote all his time to the management of his estate and to the bringing up of his children. Mikhail was his oldest son. When Mikhail reached the age of fifteen, he entered the military school of St. Petersburg. Here he spent three years. Then he was sent to join a battery which was quartered in the Province of Minsk.

This occurred immediately after the Polish rebellion of 1830 had been suppressed. The sight of terrorized Poland made a very deep impression on the young officer and sowed in him a profound hatred of despotism. At the expiration of two years he resigned and gave up his military career for good. He then went to Moscow where he lived for the next six years. In Moscow he became absorbed in the study of philosophy, beginning with the French encyclopedists, and later on, together with his friends, Stankevitch and Bielinsky, he became interested in Fichte.

In 1840 Bakunin went to St. Petersburg and from there to Berlin for the purpose of studying German philosophic thought. In 1842 he went to Dresden where he met Arnold Rougue, who was publishing the "Deutsche Jahrbucher."

But the Saxon Government feared the activities of Rougue and his collaborators, and Bakunin had to leave Saxony in January, 1843. He went to Zurich. The summer of 1843 Bakunin spent in Switzerland. There he came in contact with the German communists.

Due to the persecutions of the Swiss police and the demands of the Russian Embassy that he return to Russia, he was compelled to leave Berne for Brussels in February, 1844. Later he left Brussels for Paris, where he stayed until December, 1847.

In Paris Bakunin met Karl Marx and Engels who were then elaborating their theory. Bakunin also became acquainted with Proudhon and met him very often. Agreeing on some essential points and disagreeing on others, they engaged in discussions which sometimes lasted through the night. There he also met George Sand, and became an admirer of her talent. These years spent in Paris were the most fruitful from the point of view of Bakunin's intellectual development. It was just at this time that his revolutionary ideas began to take shape, and it was then that the cornerstone of his future revolutionary program was laid.

At the banquet given on November 29, 1847, on the anniversary of the Polish Revolution of 1830, Bakunin delivered an address for which he was expelled from France, at the request of the Russian Government.

Bakunin went to Brussels where Marx was then residing, after being expelled from France, in 1845.

The revolution of February 24th enabled Bakunin to return to France. "Having returned from Brussels to Paris," says Hertzen, "Bakunin plunged deep into the high sea of revolutionary activities. He did not leave the barracks of the Mountaineers, slept there, ate with them, and continually preached the doctrine of communism, the levelling in the name of equality, the liberation of all Slavs, the annihilation of Austria, the social revolution until the last foe is shot." The revolutionary events in Vienna and in Berlin, on the one hand, and the request of the revolutionists of Paris, on the other, made him go to Germany, from where he intended to take part in the Polish revolutionary movement.

Bakunin went to Berlin, Breslau, and then to Prague, where he made a futile attempt to carry on democratic and revolutionary propaganda at the Congress of Slavs, in June, and where he took part in the insurrection which was cruelly sup-

pressed by Vindishgretz. After this disappointment he returned to Breslau.

Having been expelled from Prussia and Saxony, Bakunin spent the remainder of 1848 in the Dukedom of Angalt. There

M. A. BAKUNIN AND HIS WIFE
(from an old photograph)

he printed in German his pamphlet: "Aufruf an die Slaven, von einem russischen Patrioten Milkhail Bakunin. Mitglied des Slavencongresses." In this pamphlet he outlined his program, founded on the following points: the union of the Slav revolutionaries with the revolutionists of other nations, such as Hungarians, Germans and Italians, for the purpose of

overthrowing three despotic monarchies, Russia, Austria and the kingdom of Prussia; and then the free federation of the freed Slavic nationalities.

In January, 1849, Bakunin secretly went to Leipsig. At that time he was busy, together with a group of young Chekhs from Prague, organizing the uprising in Bohemia.

Bakunin's gigantic figure, as well as the name "Russian revolutionist", attracted special attention to him. Immediately a whole legend sprang up about him. He was, according to this legend, the real soul of the entire revolution; he practised a terrorism which made the ruling powers tremble. It was said that he advised that the most precious paintings from the Dresden Gallery should be placed on the barricades, so as to prevent the Prussians from shooting at them.

On the ninth of May, the insurgents, yielding to superior forces, retreated from Freiberg. That night Bakunin was arrested and given over to the Prussians.

Bakunin was imprisoned in the fortress of Kœnigstein in Saxony. After a few months of preliminary imprisonment, on the 14th of January, 1850, he was sentenced to death. In June the death sentence was commuted to life-long imprisonment in the fortress, and then he was given over to Austria, in compliance with her demand. The Austrian Government first incarcerated him in the fortress of Prague, but, in March, 1851, he was transferred to the citadel of Olmuetzk. Here he was tried on May 15, 1851, and was again sentenced to death, but the sentence was again commuted to life-long imprisonment. In the Austrian prisons he was treated with extreme severity. He was handcuffed, and even his feet were chained. In Olmuetzk he was chained to the wall.

Soon after sentence had been pronounced, Austria gave Bakunin over to the Russian Government, which imprisoned him in the Fortress of St. Peter and Paul. Some time later Count Orlov visited him and told him that Tzar Nicholas desired to have his confession.. Bakunin, realizing, as he said in his letter to Hertzen, from Irkutsk, on the 8th of September, 1860, that "he was at the mercy of the bear," and that "his activities were well known and there was nothing to hide."

decided to write a letter to the Tzar. In this letter he said: "You wish to have my confession, but you must not ignore the fact that a prisoner is not obliged to confess other people's sins. My honor and my conscience will never allow me to betray any one who has taken me into his confidence, and I shall therefore not mention any names." According to Hertzen's "Posthumous Publications," Nicholas, upon reading Bakunin's letter, said, "He is a good chap and too clever; he ought to be kept behind prison bars."

At the beginning of the Crimean War Bakunin was transferred from the Fortress of St. Peter and Paul to Schlüsselburg for fear that the former might be bombarded and taken by the English. There he contracted scurvy, and lost almost all his teeth.

Alexander II personally crossed Bakunin's name from the list of those offenders to whom amnesty was granted. A month later, Bakunin's mother appealed to the Tzar, imploring him to pardon her son, but the Emperor answered: "Madam, I wish to inform you that as long as your son is alive he will never be free." Bakunin remained in prison two years after Nicholas' death.

In 1857 Bakunin was exiled to Tomsk. At the end of 1853 he married a young Polish woman, Antonine Kwiatkowsky. Soon after that, thanks to the efforts of his relatives, the Governor-General of Eastern Siberia, Muraviov-Amoursky, transferred Bakunin to the City of Irkutsk, where he secured employment. He hoped, however, that he would be freed and be able to return to Central Russia. But Muraviov was forced to resign from his post, and Bakunin realized that to secure his freedom, no other way was left but to escape from Siberia. In June, 1861, under the pretext of making a trip for commercial purposes, as well as to explore the region, he obtained the necessary permission from his superiors, and, as representative of the Sabashnikov Company, he left Irkutsk and went to Nikolaevsk on the Amur. Thence on a government ship, the "Strelok," he went to Port Dekastri where he boarded the merchant vessel "Vikera," on which he sailed for Hakodate, and from there via Yoko-

hama, San Francisco, and New York, he went to London where he landed on the twenty-seventh of October, 1861. Here he was met by Hertzen and Ogariov.

During 1862 Bakunin formulated his ideas in two Russian pamphlets: "To the Russian, Polish, and all Slav Friends" and "The People's Business. Romanov, Pougachov or Pestel?"

When, in 1863, the Polish rebellion broke out, he at once made efforts to join the leaders of the revolt, but the attempt to organize a Russian legion failed. Bakunin, who went to Stockholm hoping to induce Sweden to interfere on behalf of Poland, was compelled to leave for London without achieving his aim. Then he went to Italy, and in 1864 made another trip to Sweden. Later, via London, where he met Marx, and via Paris, where he saw Proudhon, he returned to Italy, which he found rejuvenated after the war of 1859 and Garibaldi's heroic expedition of 1860. In Italy he stayed until the fall of 1867. He lived first in Florence, and then in Naples and its suburbs. At that time he worked out a plan for a secret international organization of revolutionists, for the purpose of carrying on propaganda, and when the time came for action as well. Beginning with 1864 he succeeded in grouping together in this society a certain number of Italians, Frenchmen, Scandinavians and Slavs. The society was called "The International Union of the Social Democracy." Bakunin was responsible for its program.

In this program "The Union declares itself an atheistic organization; it desires the final and complete abolition of classes, the political, economic and social equality of all individuals of both sexes; it wishes that the land, instruments of production and all capital become the collective property of the community, that these might be utilized only by the workers, i.e. the agricultural and industrial associations of workers."

Later the "International Union of the Social Democracy" affiliated itself with the "International Workmen's Association," whose program the Union accepted.

After the Congress of the International, which was held in Basle, in September, 1869, Bakunin left Geneva and went to

Lokarno. He made this change for personal reasons. He had to settle down in a place where the cost of living would be lower, and where he could quietly devote himself to translations which he was supposed to obtain from a St. Petersburg publisher. In the first place, he was planning to translate Marx's "Capital."

At that moment Bakunin was absorbed in Russian affairs. In the spring of 1869 he had entered into close relations with Nechaiev, whose ambition it was to organize a monster uprising of the peasants, after the manner of those which had occurred in the time of Razin and Pougachov. He printed two pamphlets: "A Few Words to My Young Brothers from Russia" and "Science and the All-Important Cause of the Revolution"; somewhat later he wrote a pamphlet "To the Officers of the Russian Army," and one in French, entitled "Les Ours de Berne et l'Ours de St. Petersburg."

At that time the Franco-Prussian war had broken out, and Bakunin was following all its developments with keen interest. On the 11th of August he wrote to Ogariov: "You are only a Russian, while I am an Internationalist." Bakunin's ideas about the international situation and how to save France and the cause of liberty, are expressed in a small pamphlet, "Letters to a Frenchman."

Soon after he left Locarno for Lyons. A "Committee for the Salvation of France" was formed at once for the purpose of organizing a revolutionary uprising. Bakunin was the most active and the most daring of its members. The popular movement on September 26th helped the revolutionaries to take possession of the town house at Lyons. But General Cluserе's treachery and the cowardice of some individuals who enjoyed the people's confidence were responsible for the failure of this attempt. As for Bakunin, the Procureur of the Republic issued an order that he be arrested immediately. Despite this order, Bakunin succeeded in going to Marseilles where he hid and prepared for a new uprising. The French authorities assiduously spread rumors to the effect that Bakunin was employed as a Prussian agent and that the Government of National Defense had evidence thereof.

On the 24th of October, Bakunin, who was very much aggravated over the situation in France, left Marseilles on board a ship, the captain of which was a friend of his.

After returning to Locarno, where he spent all winter in solitude, suffering material want and privations, Bakunin wrote "L'Empire knouto-germanique sociale," which serves as a sequel to the "Letters to a Frenchman" and explains the new situation created in Europe by the Franco-Prussian War. This pamphlet appeared in the spring of 1871.

The summer and fall of 1872 Bakunin spent in Zurich, where, on his initiative, a Slavic branch of the International, composed almost exclusively of Russian and Serbian students, was organized.

The life full of struggle had exhausted Bakunin. The prison had aged him prematurely. His health was greatly impaired, and he was longing for solitude and rest. When he saw the International reorganized on the principle of free federation, he thought the moment had arrived for parting with his comrades. Therefore, he wrote a letter to the members of the International, on the 12th of October, 1873, in which he asked them to accept his resignation as a member of the International, adding: "I feel I no longer have the necessary strength for the struggle; in the camp of the proletariat I shall be a hindrance only and not a help. . . . I retire, dear Comrades, full of gratitude to you and sympathy for your great and sacred cause, the cause of humanity. I shall follow with brotherly anxiety, all your steps, and shall greet with enthusiasm every new successful achievement of yours. I shall remain yours as long as I live." Bakunin lived less than three years after the writing of this letter. He died on the first of July, 1876.

That Bakunin's influence expressed itself not only in gathering forces for the realization of his social ideal, but had a moral value as well, we learn from Prince Kropotkin's "Memoirs of a Revolutionist." "What struck me most," says Kropotkin, speaking of Bakunin's activities among the watchmakers in the Jura Mountains, "was that Bakunin's influence was felt much less as the influence of an intellectual authority

than as the influence of a moral personality. In conversations I never heard it said, 'Bakunin says so,' or 'Bakunin thinks so,' as if it settled the question. . . . I only once heard Bakunin's name invoked as an authority in itself, and that impressed me so deeply that I even now remember the spot where the conversation took place and all the surroundings. Some young men were indulging in talk that was not very respectful toward the other sex, when one of the women who were present put a sudden stop to it by exclaiming: 'Pity that Mikhail is not here; he would put you in your place!'"*

The colossal figure of the revolutionist who had given up everything for the sake of the Revolution, and lived for it alone, borrowing from his conception of it the highest and the purest views of life, according to Prince Kropotkin, was an inspiration for the many humans whose lives he touched.

*Op. cit., pp. 288-289.

P. L. LAVROV

CHAPTER II

Peter Lavrovitch Lavrov

PETER LAVROVITCH LAVROV was born in 1823, in Melekhov, in the Province of Pskov.

Lavrov's personality was the incarnation of a certain period in the intellectual life of the Russian "intelligentsia." Lavrov was Colonel of Artillery and professor of mathematics in the Academy of Artillery in St. Petersburg. He took an active part in the affairs of the Zemstvos and Municipalities until the attempt of Karakozov to shoot the Emperor, Alexander II, in April, 1866. As a result of this attempt the Government started on a series of extremely repressive measures. These were carried out under the direction of Muraviov, "the hangman," who was summoned to St. Petersburg from Vilna, where he was Governor-General. He was given the powers of a dictator. Together with others, Lavrov was arrested because letters and poems considered suspicious were found in his home.

Nine months he spent in the military prison at St. Petersburg, under a regime so severe, that no exercise, not even walking was allowed in the open air. He was allowed to see only his mother and his little daughter, and that only in the presence of the Military Governor of St. Petersburg. Lavrov was never forced to confront any witnesses, he was not even accused of participating in a political plot. Nevertheless, he was found guilty of spreading "obnoxious" ideas and entertaining a sympathetic attitude towards people with "pernicious convictions."[1] For this offense he was sentenced to a long term of exile in the Province of Vologda. He spent three years in various parts of that Province. In 1870 he succeeded, with the aid of the well-known revolutionist, Herman Lopatin, in escaping to St. Petersburg.

After a short stay in the Capital and in its suburbs, during which time he had to hide very carefully from the police, he secured a false passport made out in Dr. Viemar's name and safely crossed the frontier. Having fortunately escaped the claws of the police, Lavrov arrived in Paris in March, 1870, where he became intimately acquainted with a bookbinder, Varlin, who recommended him to the International. When the revolt of 1871 broke out, Lavrov addressed himself to the revolutionary government with suggestions for reform in the educational institutions. In the beginning of May, 1871, he succeeded in slipping through the ranks of the troops at Versailles. He went first to Brussels, then to London, to solicit the help of the General Council of the International for the Commune. In London he became acquainted with Marx and Engels. In 1872 he went to Zurich.

Lavrov was already known to the Russian public as a writer. In the early sixties he published a number of philosophic articles which forced the attention of the public. In 1868 appeared his famous "Historic Letters." One of the Russian revolutionary groups asked him, in March, 1872, to edit a magazine. The first issue of the magazine "Vperiod" (Forward) appeared in August, 1873. This magazine continued to appear until 1877.

In 1882 Lavrov was expelled from France for having printed a proclamation signed by him and Vera Zasulich, appealing to European society for help for the Russian revolutionists, for those awaiting trial as well as for those wasting their lives in prison and in exile. He spent the greater part of his stay abroad in anthropological research work. Among his early contributions to the domain of science were "Historical Letters," which made him known to the intelligent classes of Russia, and the voluminous "History of Thought." The same year he joined the party of the "Will of the People" and became one of the main collaborators and editors of the "Viestnik Narodnoy Voli" ("Messenger of the Will of the People").

In June, 1885, revolutionary Russia and the Russian emigrants in Europe celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his literary and political activities. The following appeared in the issue No. 11-12 of the "Viestnik Narodnoy Voli":

"June 2, 1885, marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of P. L. Lavrov's literary career, as well as of his political and social activities. This is the first time we are in a position to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the activities of any Russian Socialist-Revolutionist. This is truly a great and memorable occasion, in the celebration of which we shall be joined by all the honest thinking people of Russia. The Social-Revolutionary Movement in Russia began long ago. It has already filled the annals of history with many a glorious record, but only one of its numerous workers has had the good fortune to see his activities bear some fruit. This good fortune has fallen to the share of our great teacher and comrade, Peter Lavrovitch Lavrov. During the twenty-five years of his activity, he has persistently waged the great struggle for a better future, for our country's welfare. While struggling himself, he has been teaching others to fight, and he has been able to see his ardent propaganda of brotherhood and liberty find fertile soil in the ranks of our youth. In Russia and in Siberia, outside of prison and within the prison walls, the comrades and disciples of Peter Lavrov are celebrating this great day, and the man in whose honor the celebrations are held will be greeted warmly by all who knew or have heard about him."

Here is one of the numerous letters of congratulation sent to Peter Lavrov, and his answer:

"Our dear Teacher:

"The great fortune of celebrating one's twenty-fifth anniversary of service to the great cause of liberating our country has fallen to the share of few of our fighters, and probably few of us will have the opportunity to once more drink the health of such a teacher and standard bearer as you have been during these twenty-five years to the Russian youth. That is why the day of your and our celebration is all the dearer to us. We honor it as the holiday of the persecuted, the oppressed, as the day when the spiritual sufferings of the exiles, the wanderers will be forgotten, and the wounds from the chains of our comrades and friends now languishing in the prisons will heal, at least for a moment.

"Like the ancient Christians who gathered in the caves and their secret temples, away from their enemies, to commemorate their Great Teacher, in order to strengthen their souls in the union of love and truth, in like manner do we gather today to celebrate the day of your anniversary, in order to find in close brotherly union that strength, that might which has inspired you for twenty-five years in your relentless struggle against age-long injustice. We gather to feel the fire which, even when you were away from the country, has warmed your heart with infinite love for her, to find in you the source of the faith in the righteousness of our cause, from which you have been drawing your invincible strength.

"We would have to say very much in order to fully express all that you have done for the cause which you are serving and for us whom you have taught; but even then our modest letter will not have expressed all our gratitude, our thankfulness and love for the one whose 'Historic Letters' have educated a whole generation, whose mighty clarion call 'Forward' has waked up Russia and has mobilized an army of her best sons for the work of liberating the laboring masses.

"Your path during the last twenty-five years has not been strewn with laurel and orange blossoms; it has been cov-

ered with the blood of your friends, but it has not frightened and will not frighten those in whose hearts your voice has aroused love for the oppressed brethren, whose souls it fortified in the bloody struggle, whose intellect it awakened to the realization of the truth. Every day the ranks of the Russian fighters see changes, thousands of them have already given their lives in the gallant fight, but in the new ranks waves the same banner that was raised by your brave hand twenty-five years ago, and the ideal which you implanted in the depths of our souls will not die.

"The friend of the people, the enemy of its enemies is dear to all honest Russians, but you are also dear to us because you have been our indefatigable teacher, our educator, our loving friend and instructor.

"And many generations will honor your name among those of their favorite teachers, of whom you, above any one else, can by right say, in the words of the poet:

" 'I have erected for myself a monument
Which is not the handiwork of man.'

"The time will come when a hand-made monument will be erected for the fighter for Liberty and Truth and the Disseminator of the ideas of Love and Brotherhood in the same place where the gallows stand now.

" 'It is only a pity that that wonderful time
Neither you nor I will live to see.'

"Let, therefore, now at least, our great love for you, our profound gratitude and boundless reverence serve as a slight compensation for your many years of hard labor; may that at least partly compensate you for your losses in life, may our feeble voice of greeting sent from the homeland which you love so dearly, may this voice at least somewhat warm your noble soul languishing in exile, where even the tropical heat cannot replace the mild sunshine of our own rough climate.

"Long live the best of the friends of the Russian people!"

Here is the answer of Peter Lavrov:

"To my Dear Friends in the Far-Away Fatherland:

"Your message of greeting has touched me profoundly. I have not seen any one of you and doubt whether I ever will. But you are to me the representatives of that Fatherland which always stands out before me as the goal of my activities, you are the representatives of that portion of the Russian youth which alone has the power through its activities and its energy to win for our country a better future. That is why you are always near and dear to me. I feel that in every one of you beats the heart of a comrade and sympathizer for all that we are attempting to do here. I am getting old and my future is already fatally limited within the confines of a few years. But before you the future lies wide open: not the future for the enjoyment of life, not the future of tranquility, but the future of hard, persistent, relentless struggle against a dangerous foe. And many of you have already experienced the hardships of this struggle. Of the two messages which I received from your remote town, and both of which are very dear to me, one was written within the prison walls. I hope that these lines will reach both groups who have sent me the message of greeting, despite the fact that we have not seen each other. Let these lines once more strengthen the ties of our friendship. We, emigrants, know well that all that we say and write can have meaning only as the foundation for your work in Russia. It is this alone that gives our utterances their significance. Let us therefore continue working for the common cause in the realization that on the banks of the Volga River and on the banks of the Seine our hearts, young and old, are beating with hatred for the same foes, are beating with equal determination to attain the common aim.

"Accept the gratitude and greetings of an old comrade who embraces you all like brothers."

"FOUR years before his death I visited," said Tchaykovsky, "that 'grand old man' of the Russian Revolutionary movement, who lived in the street of St. Jacques, in a small room, very high up in a tall building. The room was crowded with books from top to bottom.

"The mild breeze blowing from the Seine over the Latin Quarter, and a few minutes' walk through a sun-lit courtyard brought me to a poor stairway which led to the attic room occupied by Lavrov. For the first time I met a Russian revolutionist who had safely reached a healthy, vigorous and quiet old age. After having spent thirty years in exile, he not only remained true to his former ideals, but continued indefatigably to spread them."

The last years of Lavrov's life were almost exclusively devoted to scientific work. His great work, "An Experiment on a History of Modern Thought," remained unfinished. The main principles of his views on sociology he summarized in his work, "The Problems of an Interpretation of History. A Project of an Introduction to a Study of the Evolution of Human Thought." His book appeared in Moscow in 1898, under the nom de plume S. S. Arnoldi. Lavrov's literary works are voluminous, but until recently only a few of his works were published in Russia. Likewise, there are numerous works devoted to the explanation and criticism of Lavrov's philosophic system.

P. L. Lavrov died in Paris, in 1900, at the age of 77. His funeral was an unusually solemn and grand procession, in which tens of thousands of people of all nationalities took part, and which was attended by the representatives of all Socialist parties and societies the world over.

CHAPTER III

Peter Alexeyevich Kropotkin

PRINCE PETER KROPOTKIN was born in an old aristocratic quarter of Moscow, in 1842, the son of a prince, a landed proprietor possessing vast estates and arbiter of the destinies of over 1,200 serfs. He was born to all the traditions of a nobleman's life, the ease, the luxury, the tinsel glitter. A mother's love he knew only until he was three and a half years old. After this his father's serfs, in memory of the mother, secretly bestowed on him and his brother Alexander, scarcely a year and a half older, the love which little children must have to thrive.

A comely little lad, when he was eight years old he completely took Emporer Nicholas' fancy at a costume ball, given in honor of the Imperial family. As he says in his "Memoirs of a Revolutionist," "I was told later on that Nicholas I, who was always fond of barrack jokes, took me by the arm and, leading me to Marie Alexándrovna (the wife of the heir to the throne), who was then expecting her third child, said in his military way, "That is the sort of boy you must bring me." The little prince was treated to sweets and later in the evening fell asleep with his head in the lap of the Crown Princess, who did not leave her chair until the ball was over. When the time came to take the little fellow home, his family told him joyously that he had been made a candidate for the corps of pages. His father saw visions of a brilliant court career for his son.

This boy's environment was rich soil for the blossoming of a real aristocrat, but the stories of the great French Revolution told him by his French tutor and a little later the influence of his Russian teacher, as well as the serious literature of that time, which he had begun to read while still very young, laid the cornerstone of a life marked by love for his fellowmen. When he was twelve years old he dropped his title, and signed his name P. Kropotkin to his first literary attempts. This signature he has since retained.

The arbitrary treatment of the serfs on his father's estates and the stories he heard of the bestial brutality of other landowners awakened in him an intense sympathy for these slaves, who were flogged for a minor misdeed, bought, sold, exchanged for hunting dogs, lost at a game of cards, forced to marry to increase the landowner's riches in souls, used and abused in ways that beggar description.

When he was nearly fifteen a vacancy occurred in the corps of pages and he had to enter this military school against his inclination. By this time he had acquired definite literary tastes, and was seriously interested in history. The regulations and atmosphere of the military school roused the rebel in him and brought him into open conflict with the despotic master of the school, but being naturally studious he concentrated on learning German and, under the influence of his brother Alexander, he read as much of the philosophic and scientific literature as he could obtain. He followed his natural bent in the study of mathematics, physics and astronomy. However, he was not above the pranks students of that age often indulge in, and when it was found necessary to teach the drawing teacher a lesson, he participated in an escapade that brought him ten days in a cell, as leader of the class.

During a summer vacation he wrote up a peasants' fair statistically. To get the necessary data he had to mingle freely with them, ask many questions and even take tea in the restaurant with some of them. "Oh, horror, if my father had learned that!" says Prince Kropotkin in his "Memoirs of a Revolutionist," recalling the incident. This contact brought him closer to these overburdened and overtaxed souls, and stood him in good stead much later when he went about among the peasants teaching socialism.

Ironical though it be, it was in the ultra-fashionable St. Petersburg home of one of his conservative relatives that he first became imbued with revolutionary ideas. His cousin was somehow getting copies of a publication printed in London by the great Russian exile Hertzen, and together they read scathing criticisms of the deeds of Russia's autocracy. It was then when he first began to think of a cure for the evils of mis-

PRINCE PETER KROPOTKIN

government in Russia, and it was a constitutional monarchy he considered then the panacea.

Just at the same time that the question of slavery was brewing trouble between North and South in this country, the liberal elements in Russia were agitating for the abolition of serfdom, against powerful opposition. It was 1861 when Alexander II, the Emperor of Russia, signed the manifesto granting freedom to the serfs, with overburdening obligations for the liberated peasants.

Kropotkin, in his "Memoirs of a Revolutionist," tells an episode to show what emancipation meant for the peasants. It is interesting to read his story in full, to see what the peasantry meant for this prince.

"Eleven years after that memorable time," says Kropotkin, "I went to the Tambóv estate, which I had inherited from my father. I stayed there for a few weeks, and on the evening of my departure our village priest—an intelligent man of independent opinions, such as one meets occasionally in our southern provinces—went out for a walk round the village. The sunset was glorious; a balmy air came from the prairies. He found a middle-aged peasant—Antón Savélieff—sitting on a small eminence outside the village and reading a book of psalms. The peasant hardly knew how to spell, in Old Slavonic, and often he would read a book from the last page, turning the pages backward; it was the process of reading which he liked most, and then a word would strike him, and its repetition pleased him. He was reading now a psalm of which each verse began with the word 'rejoice.'

"'What are you reading?' he was asked.

"'Well, father, I will tell you,' was his reply. 'Fourteen years ago the old prince came here. It was in the winter. I had just returned home, almost frozen. A snowstorm was raging. I had scarcely begun undressing, when we heard a knock at the window; it was the elder, who was shouting, "Go to the prince! He wants you!" We all—my wife and our children—were thunderstruck. "What can he want of you?" my wife cried, in alarm. I signed myself with the cross and went; the snowstorm almost blinded me as I crossed the

bridge. Well, it ended all right. The old prince was taking his afternoon sleep, and when he woke up he asked me if I knew plastering work, and only told me, "Come tomorrow to repair the plaster in that room." So I went home quite happy, and when I came to the bridge I found my wife standing there. She had stood there all the time in the snowstorm, with the baby in her arms, waiting for me. "What has happened, Savélich?" she cried. "Well," I said, "no harm; he only asked me to make some repairs." That, father, was under the old prince. And now, the young prince came here the other day. I went to see him, and I found him in the garden, at the tea table, in the shadow of the house; you, father, sat with him, and the elder of the canton, with his mayor's chain upon his breast. "Will you have tea, Savélich?" he asked me. "Take a chair. Peter Grigôrieff"—he says that to the old one—"give us one more chair." And Peter Grigôrieff—you know what a terror for us he was when he was the manager of the old prince—brought the chair, and we all sat around the tea table, talking, and he poured out tea for all of us. Well, now, father, the evening is so beautiful, the balm comes from the prairies, and I sit and read, "Rejoice! Rejoice!"'"

A few months after Alexander II had become almost a demigod to his many millions of subjects—for had he not freed the serfs!—Prince Kropotkin, becoming sergeant of the corps of pages, became the Emperor's page de chambre. As body-guard of the Emperor at all important functions and also on holidays, he had to spend a great part of his time at Court. His intimacy with Court life only taught him the shams and the frailties of the institution of kings. He began an admirer of the liberator of the serfs, he ended by knowing him for a weak-willed despot. And when his time at Court was up, not having the money to enter a university—his father would only help him in a military career—he went far from Court life and the gay life of the aristocracy.

His early scientific interests had grown with him, and free to choose his field of service as an officer, he chose to go way off to East Siberia so that he could study the vegetation, the

physiography, and perhaps assist in carrying out the reforms he still hoped to see born.

He himself says that the five years he spent in Siberia were for him a liberal education in life and human character. According to his "Memoirs," he "was brought into contact with men of all descriptions: the best and the worst; those who stood at the top of society and those who vegetated at the very bottom—the tramps and the so-called incorrigible criminals." Here he really could study the daily life of the peasant and he realized how little the central administration could do for the Siberian peasant, even if it were actuated by most excellent motives.

In the course of his activities in East Siberia Kropotkin helped to draw up plans for the reform of the prison and exile system and for municipal self-government. By the time these were completed and sent to the Capital, the people of Russian Poland had risen in an effort to free themselves and had been punished by wholesale hangings and transportations to the remotest corners of Siberia. A general reaction had set in. It had become a crime even to breathe the word "reform," and so Kropotkin's projects never saw light.

Kropotkin then assisted in a scheme to colonize the banks of the Amur River, in the course of which he made an extremely perilous trip to save the people on the lower Amur from famine.

Disguised as a merchant, not to arouse unnecessarily the suspicions of the Chinese, he went with a caravan into Manchuria and explored a region never before visited by a European.

As military attaché to the governor-general for Cossack affairs, he undertook to find out why the Usuri Cossacks had to be helped by the government every winter to keep them from starvation. His suggested remedies were approved and he was rewarded for his efforts, but, as he says, "the practical realization of the measures went into the hands of some old drunkard, who would squander the money and pitilessly flog the unfortunate Cossacks for the purpose of converting them into good agriculturists. And thus it went on in all directions,

beginning with the Winter Palace at St. Petersburg, and ending with the Usuri and Kamchatka."

However, his experience in Siberia taught him how little he could do for the masses of the people if he had to work through the powers that ruled at St. Petersburg. The methods used against a number of Polish exiles in Siberia, who broke out in revolt, awakened Kropotkin to the fact that as an officer of the Russian government he was not true to himself. He resigned and returned to St. Petersburg.

In St. Petersburg he entered the university and sat beside boys many years younger. From his observations in Siberia he had concluded that the existing maps of Northern Asia were all wrong and he decided to study the question to a solution. After more than two years intensive study he discovered that the main structural lines of Asia do not extend north and south or west and east, but run from the southwest to the northeast. He considered this discovery his greatest contribution to science.

Then followed a tour of Finland and Sweden in the interest of science, but the miserable conditions of the peasantry in both countries drove the joy of scientific discovery from his soul.

"But what right had I to these highest joys," says Kropotkin in his "Memoirs," "when all around me was nothing but misery and struggle for a mouldy bit of bread; when whatsoever I should spend to enable me to live in that world of higher emotions must needs be taken from the very mouths of those who grew the wheat and had not bread enough for their children? From somebody's mouth it must be taken, because the aggregate production of mankind remains still so low."

In the meantime Alexander II, in constant fear of attempts on his life, had put himself completely under the control of a dishonest, cruel, sinister group. All freedom of expression had been completely stilled, the deepest thinkers, the best writers were in the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul or in exile, and no man dared to associate with another known to have ever entertained a radical thought. But as in youth there is daring, so the young men in the twenties and under, and the young

women, were secretly spreading their ideals. The young women, in many cases, left their fine homes and undertook work, no matter how dangerous or lowly, if only they could spread knowledge among the masses. Of the women, Kropotkin says: "They have conquered their rights in the true sense of the word." So his early impressions made him a feminist for life.

In 1872 he went to Switzerland and joined the Zurich section of the International Workingmen's Association. To get into closer touch with the daily life of the workers he went to Genèva, a great center of the International socialist movement. Here every evening, sitting in the hall where they met, he learned what faith these toilers had in the coming brotherhood of man. Seeing how badly in need they were of really disinterested helpers—to help spread the ideal—he decided to cast in his lot with them.

In a brief time spent among the watchmakers in the Jura Mountains he came into close touch with a number of refugees of the French Commune. Reading, talking, discussing, listening, he came away from the watchmakers in these mountains with his views definitely settled. It was his duty to cast his lot in with the workers.

On his return to St. Petersburg he joined a circle called the Circle of Tchaykóvsky, the members of which purposed spreading their revolutionary ideas among the peasants and the workers in the towns. Kropotkin was particularly interested in the people who worked in the cotton factories, and in the weavers. Many an evening after a dinner in a fine mansion or with a friend in the Winter Palace, he would put on the coarse peasant clothes, the cotton shirt, the sheepskin, the peasant boots and hurry to some poor quarter of the city to meet his worker friends. And it was an untrustworthy weaver, who, to save himself, disclosed the identity of this prince who was giving himself whole-heartedly to the cause of the workers.

He was arrested and placed in a damp, dark cell of the dreaded prison of St. Peter and St. Paul on the second day of the new year, 1874. The inactivity and the silence imposed on

him were the most difficult to bear, but his brother Alexander worked hard and got several scientific societies to address an appeal to the Emperor. This resulted in Kropotkin being given permission to finish his book on the glacial period, in prison.

It is well known that the silence of that prison has broken down many a mind. Courageous, Kropotkin worked on until the news of his brother's arrest almost broke his spirit. In this prison he heard a poor peasant, in the cell beneath him, go insane, for want of his normal activity. This poor man's crime had been that he had listened to the socialists.

Under the strain of prison life, Kropotkin's health became so broken before his second year of confinement was over that his sister begged to have him transferred to the military hospital of the prison. It was from this military hospital that he made the escape that transcends all the thrilling imaginings of playwrights and scenario writers. His own detailed account of it in his "Memoirs of a Revolutionist" makes one tremble with emotion. He tells how at the sound of a violin played in a little house opposite the prison, and the rumble of a carriage—signals prearranged by his revolutionary friends—he made a dash for the gate, pursued by the guards, soldiers and some peasants who had been unloading wood in the prison yard. He tells how he threw himself into the waiting carriage, was received by a friend in disguise, and how his friend's military cap as they went by the door of a public house brought the salute from two gendarmes. The only soldier on guard who would have been able to stop him had been engaged in "scientific" conversation by another friend, whose waggish tale of the tail possessed by a parasite of the human body held the soldier so spellbound that Kropotkin got safely into the carriage. He tells how they spent the evening dining in a private room of one of St. Petersburg's select restaurants, while the city was turned upside down in the hunt for him, how he finally reached Sweden and from there sailed for England under the "Union Jack," and he adds: "I greeted that flag from the bottom of my heart."

In England, under an assumed name, he fared meagerly on

what he earned advising about the science column for one publication, "Nature," and writing paragraphs on Russian geographical explorations for the "Times." It was in the office of "Nature" that the sub-editor handed him two of his own scientific volumes, asking him to review them for the paper. This forced him to disclose his identity, for, as he says in his "Memoirs," "I could not praise them because they were mine, and I could not be too sharp on the author as I held the views expressed in them."

Later finding some permanent scientific work that did not necessitate his staying in England, he went to Switzerland. Here, surrounded by remarkable men, exiles from France, Italy, Germany and Spain, he threw himself heart and soul into the work of spreading his beliefs. He distributed literature and went about lecturing on socialism.

While attending a congress in Belgium he was saved by his comrades from being taken by the police for registering under an assumed name at the hotel. The Belgian police would, in all likelihood, have handed him over to Russia. His friends put him aboard ship for England, without even permitting him to return to his room.

After a brief stay in England, the revived activity in the labor movement in Paris lured him there. Here he helped to organize the first socialist groups. And here he again escaped arrest, but this time through a very fortunate error on the part of the police themselves.

It so happened that, with rapid succession, attempts were made on the lives of the German Emperor, the King of Spain and the King of Italy. The governments of Europe immediately decided that the plots had been hatched by the political refugees in Switzerland, and the Swiss Government was called to account for harboring so many of these refugees. Switzerland responded by suppressing radical publications and deporting all the most active leaders of the workers' movement. Kropotkin decided to go to Switzerland, where he undertook to edit a paper for the party, "La Revolte." He had to do most of the writing himself, but he discussed every article with his wife, who was a severe critic. For all that he found time to

assist in the writing of an excellent detailed geography of the Russian dominions in Asia.

In the meantime the revolutionists in Russia, preaching and spreading the socialist doctrines through the land, calling on the peasants and the workers to rebel against the unjust economic conditions, but not seeming anxious to make any definite plans for revolution, were receiving outrageous sentences. They who wanted only a chance to live with the peasants and the workers so as to teach them, they who wanted only to be of help to the masses were being hanged, were being sentenced to hard labor in the mines of Siberia for ten and twelve years, to be followed by lifelong exile in some far-away barren spot. Some were locked up in prisons so horrible that a few months drove them into insanity. Finally some of their comrades rose in self-defense and sent a number of bureaucrats out of existence, with bombs. In March, 1881, Alexander II himself paid for the many lives he had pitilessly taken.

To guard the life of the new Tzar, Alexander III, and the old bureaucratic institutions, many anti-revolutionary organizations came into existence. One, called the Holy League, had for its aim the killing of all the refugees who, according to them, had planned the late conspiracies. Kropotkin was marked for one of these, although he had no hand in any of these assassinations.

A few months after the death of Alexander II, he was expelled from Switzerland to satisfy the demands of the Russian police. He and his wife went to France. Warned, in all its details, through a reliable source, of the death sentence passed upon him by the Holy League, he gave the facts to the Geneva correspondent of the "Times," asking him to print the story if anything should happen to him. He also put a note to the same effect in "La Revolte."

After another year in England he returned to France, only to be immediately surrounded by Russian spies and prying French police.

Towards the end of 1882 the miserable conditions existing among the silk weavers in and about Lyons had become un-

bearable. Little children were starving, and the workers, roused to fury, dynamited a public building and a cafe frequented by those better off and doing nothing to relieve the situation. Kropotkin, who was known to have lectured to the weavers, was arrested with about sixty other men. In spite of no incriminating evidence, he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment. An appeal, signed by such men as Herbert Spencer, Victor Hugo, Swinburne, bore no fruit. While in this prison he worked hard upon articles for the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" and the "Nineteenth Century." He also thought much upon the evils of the prison system. He says in his "Memoirs": "During my sojourn at Lyons I began to realize the awfully demoralizing influence of the prisons upon the prisoners, which brought me later to condemn unconditionally the whole institution."

Of the numbers of children he saw who were taken every day to the prison yard to "beat out the silk cocoons to obtain floss silk," he says: "Flocks of children are underfed — the shadows of children — I often watched them from my window. Anaemia was plainly written on all the little faces and manifest in their thin, shivering bodies; and all day long—not only in the dormitories, but even in the yards, in the full light of the sun—they pursued their debilitating practices. What will become of them after they have passed through that schooling and come out with their health ruined, their will annihilated, their energy reduced? Anaemia, with its diminished energy, its unwillingness to work, its enfeebled will, weakened intellect, and perverted imagination, is responsible for crime to an infinitely greater extent than plethora, and it is precisely this enemy of the human race which is bred in prison. And then—the teachings which these children receive in their surroundings! Mere isolation, even if it were rigorously carried out—and it cannot be—would be of little avail; the whole atmosphere of every prison is an atmosphere of glorification of that sort of gambling in "clever strokes" which constitutes the very essence of theft, swindling, and all sorts of similar anti-social deeds. Whole generations

of future criminals are bred in these nurseries, which the state supports and which society tolerates, simply because it does not want to hear its own diseases spoken of and dissected."

In 1885 when almost all his comrades had been set free and the clamor for Kropotkin's release, in the press and in the Chamber of Deputies, was daily growing louder, the French Prime Minister, M. Freycinet, openly said in the Chamber that "diplomatic difficulties stood in the way of Kropotkin's release." Alexander III did not want him released. Finally, in January, 1886, he was set free, and he and his wife went to Paris to live.

Finding it necessary to leave Paris once more, to escape being expelled (another concession to the pro-Russian press), he went to London once more. Here he was asked to lecture on socialism and prisons. So he traveled through every large town of England and Scotland, spending one night in a mansion (for the middle classes were anxiously interested in the message he brought) and the next in the overcrowded home of some worker.

He started a monthly called "Freedom." He wrote articles explaining his theory of life. In contradiction to all the conclusions drawn from Darwin's formula, the "struggle for existence," Kropotkin decided that "mutual aid" is as much a law of nature as "mutual struggle." He gave expression to this idea in the "Nineteenth Century," in his articles, "Mutual Aid Among Animals," "Among Savages," "Among Barbarians," "In the Mediaeval City" and "Amongst Ourselves." Several years later he wrote "Mutual Aid Among Men."

After the Revolution of March, 1917, Kropotkin returned to Russia. He was met with great honors, as one of the foremost fighters for liberty and democracy. As a sincere democrat, he has taken the only stand possible in this great war: with the Allied democracies—against the autocracy of Germany. Although a philosophical anarchist, in theory repudiating every State organization, he makes a definite distinction between a democratic State and an autocratic State, and in the present conflict, naturally, wishes success to the union of democratic nations.

Speaking at the National Conference in Moscow, in August, 1917, Kropotkin expressed clearly his attitude towards Russia's condition at that critical time: "In my opinion," said Kropotkin, "the Fatherland and the Revolution are indivisible. The Fatherland, having made the Revolution, must carry it to the end. Citizens, we are in a protracted war, the most terrible months of which are the last months. Why, during these last months has not the question been decided as to who shall conquer and who shall be defeated? If the Germans should be victorious, the consequences would be so dreadful for us that it is simply painful to speak of or prophesy such things.

"I think that it is not without reason that all the democracies of the whole world have united against Germany, and even the democracy of China has joined, and will help us worthily. Comrades, let us promise each other that we will not stand divided into the right and left. We have but one Fatherland, and for the whole of it we must all be ready to die, conservative and radical."

CHAPTER IV

Ekaterina Constantinovna Breshko-Breshkovskaya

THE name Breshko-Breshkovskaya, that of the "Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," is known the world over. "Grandmother" is now 74 years old, but, just as in her youth, she is still serving the great cause of Russia's and the world's democracy, with all the power of her beautiful soul.

We cannot, for want of space, devote to Brehsko-Breshkovskaya as many pages as she deserves.*

Ekaterina Breshko-Breshkovskaya was born in 1844, in the Province of Vitebsk. Her mother came of a noble family. Her father was the son of a Polish aristocrat. Speaking of her father, Breshko-Breshkovskaya says:

"My father helped me think. He was a man of broad, liberal ideas. We read together many books of science and travel. Social science absorbed me. By 16, I had read much of Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot, and I knew by heart the French Revolution. I was not confined to Russian, for I spoke French from babyhood; my German governess soon taught me German, and at that time the world's best thought was not garbled by Russian censorship. So trained, I could hardly be called an ignorant fanatic."

In the early seventies, Breshkovskaya, then 26 years old, joined a revolutionary group in Kiev and traveled from town to town spreading revolutionary propaganda. Later the revolutionists decided to reach the peasants and so started the famous movement "V Narod"—"To the People." Breshkovskaya joined this movement and here is what she says about it:

"We put on peasant dress to elude the police and break down the peasants' clinging distrust. I used acid on my face

*To everyone particularly interested in this historic figure of the Russian Revolution, we may recommend a book especially devoted to her: "The Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," by Alice Stone Blackwell. The book has been recently published by Little, Brown & Co. The story of her life is best told by herself, in the "Outlook" of January 7, 1905, and in the Petrograd magazine, "Neeva," Nos. 19-20, 1917. Excerpts from the "Outlook" are reprinted by courtesy of The Outlook Co.

and hands; I worked and ate with the peasants; I learned their speech; I traveled on foot, forging passports; I lived 'illegally.'

"By night I did my organizing. You desire a picture? A low room with mud floor and walls. Rafters just over your head and a little higher an arch. The room was packed with men, women and children. Two big fellows sat up on the high brick stove, with their dangling feet knocking occasional applause. These people had been gathered by my host—a brave peasant whom I picked out—and he in turn had chosen only those whom Siberia could not terrify. When I recalled their floggings, when I pointed to those who had been crippled for life, to women whose husbands died under the lash—those men would cry out so fiercely that the three or four cattle in the next room would begin to bellow loudly and have to be quieted. Then I told them they themselves were to blame. They had only the most wretched strips of land. To be free and live, the people must own the land. From my cloak I would bring a book of fables written to teach our principles and stir the love of freedom. And then far into the night the firelight showed a circle of great, broad faces and dilated eyes staring with all the reverence every peasant had for that mysterious thing—a book. These books, twice as effective as oral work, were printed in secrecy, at a heavy expense. But many of us had libraries, jewels, costly gowns and furs to sell. And new recruits kept adding to our fund. We had no personal expenses."

In 1874 over two thousand of Russia's educated youth carried on propaganda among the peasants. The Government made wholesale arrests, and among those arrested was Breshkovskaya. Here is again her own story:

"In jail I was led down to the 'Black Hole.' As I came down two besotted wretches were stumbling up. I was pushed in, a heavy door slammed and bolts rattled in total darkness. At once I was sickened by the odor. I took a step forward and slipped, for the floor was soft with filth. I stood still, until badly sick, I sank down on a pile of straw and rags. A minute later I was stung sharply back to consciousness, and sprang up covered with vermin. I leaned

E. K. BRESHKO-BRESHKOVSKAYA
The "Grandmother" of the Russian Revolution

against the walls and found them damp. So I stood up all night in the middle of the hole. And this was the beginning....

"In 1878 we were tried. One hundred had died or gone insane. We, one hundred ninety-three of us, were packed into a little hole. We nerved each other to refuse to be tried, for the trial, we knew, was to be a farce, the jury allowed us by law was not to be given us; we had only a jury of seven, of whom only one was a peasant. Our judges had been appointed by the Tzar. They divided us into groups of ten or fifteen; the trials lasted half a year. When my turn came, I protested against this farce. For this I was at once taken out and my prison term was lengthened to five years as hard-labor convict in the mines. This is the punishment given to a murderer. My term served, I was a Siberian exile for life.

"Secretly at night, to avoid a demonstration, ten of us were led out. Other tens followed on successive nights. In the street below were eleven 'telegas'—heavy, hooded vehicles with three horses each. Into one I was placed, a stout gendarme squeezed in on our side, to remain there two months. Just before my knees stood the driver. We went off at a gallop, and our 5,000-mile journey began.... We were all dressed in convict clothes. The men had also heavy chains on feet and wrists. Their heads were partly shaved. Our officer kept the money given us by our anxious friends at home, and gave us each the government allowance of about five cents a day. For sleep we were placed in the etapes (wayside prisons.) Mr. Kennan has well described the cells—reeking, crawling, infected with scurvy, consumption and typhoid. They had log walls roughly covered with plaster. The air was invariably noisome; the long bench on which we slept had no bedclothes. Through the walls we heard the endless jangling of fetters, the moaning of women, the cries of sick babies. On the walls were a mass of inscriptions, names of friends who had gone before us, news of death and insanity and shrewd bits of advice for outwitting gendarmes. Some were freshly cut but one worm-eaten poem looked a century old. For along this Great Siberian Road over a million men, women and children have dragged—250,000 since 1875; people from every social class...

E. K. BRESHKO-BRESHKOVSKAYA
(From her latest photograph)

"You keep asking me for scenes and stories. But you see we were thinking of our dream, and did not notice so much of the life outside. Did any die? Yes, one of typhoid. Our officer ran the sufferer on at full gallop until his delirious cries from the jolting vehicle so roused our protests that he was left in the Irkutsk prison, where he died. Were there no children? Yes, one little wife had a baby ten months old, but the rest of us did all we could to help her and child survive the journey. Friends to say good-bye? Oh, let me see! Yes; as we passed through Krasnoyarsk, a student's old mother had come from a distance to see him. Our officer refused to allow the boy to kiss her. She caught but a glimpse, the gendarme jerked him back into the vehicle and they galloped on. As I came by I saw her white, haggard old face. Then she fell by the roadside."

After serving her hard-labor sentence in the Kara Mines, Breshkovskaya made an atempt to escape from Siberia. She was caught. But, let her continue her story:

"As punishment for my attempt, I was sentenced to four years hard labor in Kara and to forty blows of the lash. Into my cell a physician came to see if I were strong enough to live through the agony. I saw at once that, afraid to flog a woman political without precedent, by this trick of declaring me too sick to be punished, they wished to establish the precedent of the sentence, in order that others might be flogged in the future. I insisted that I was strong enough, and that the court had no right to record such a sentence unless they flogged me at once. The sentence was not carried out.

"Back in Kara I rejoiced to meet seventeen women politicals with whom I lived in four low cells. Here we had books and writing materials, and were quite comfortable discussing plans for the future struggle.

"A few weeks later eight men politicals escaped in pairs, leaving dummies in their places. As the guards never took more than a hasty look into my noisome cell, they did not discover the ruse for weeks. Then mounted Cossacks rode out. The man hunt spread. Some of the fugitives struggled through jungles, over mountains and through swamps, a

thousand miles to Vladivostok, saw the longed-for American vessels and there on the docks were recaptured. All were brought back to Kara.

"For this we were all punished. One morning the Cossack guards entered our cells, seized us, tore off our clothes, and dressed us in convict suits alive with vermin. That scene cannot be described. One of us attempted suicide. Taken to an old prison, we were thrown into the 'black hole'—the foul stalls off a low, grimy hall which contained two big stoves and two little windows. Each of us had a stall 6 feet by 5. On winter nights the stall doors were left open for heat, but in summer each was locked at night in her own black hole. For three months we did not use our bunks, but fought with candles and pails of scalding water until the vermin were all killed. We had been put on the 'black hole' diet of black bread and water. For three years we never breathed the outside air. We struggled constantly against the outrages inflicted on us. After one outrage we lay like a row of dead women without touching food, until certain promises were finally exacted from the warden. This 'hunger strike' was used repeatedly. To thwart it we were often bound hand and foot while Cossacks tried to force food down our throats."

A few years later, when Breshkovskaya had been taken to Selenginsk, on the Russian-Chinese frontier, George Kennan met her, and here is how he speaks about her in his remarkable book, "Siberia and the Exile System": "She was a lady perhaps thirty-five years of age, with a strong, intelligent, but not handsome face, a frank, unreserved manner, and sympathies that seemed to be warm, impulsive, and generous. Her face bore traces of much suffering, and her thick, dark, wavy hair, which had been cut short in prison at the mines, was streaked here and there with gray; but neither hardship, nor exile, nor penal servitude had been able to break her brave, finely tempered spirit, or to shake her convictions of honor and duty. She was, as I soon discovered, a woman of much cultivation. She spoke French, German, and English, was a fine musician, and impressed me as being in every way an attractive and interesting woman. . There was not an-

other educated woman, so far as I know, within a hundred miles in any direction; she received from the Government an allowance of a dollar and a quarter a week for her support; her correspondence was under police control; she was separated for life from her family and friends; and she had, it seemed to me, absolutely nothing to look forward to except a few years, more or less, of hardship and privation, and at last, burial in a lonely graveyard beside the Selenga River, where no sympathetic eye might ever rest upon the unpainted wooden cross that would briefly chronicle her life and death. The unshaken courage with which this unfortunate woman contemplated her dreary future, and the faith that she manifested in the ultimate triumph of liberty in her native country, were as touching as they were heroic. Almost the last words that she said to me were: 'Mr. Kennan, we may die in exile, and our children may die in exile, and our children's children may die in exile, but something will come of it at last.' "*

Breshkovskaya was kept in Siberia for twenty-three years, until 1896. Upon her return to Central Russia, she joined the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists and again started the hard and dangerous work for the cause of liberty and democracy. In the end of 1904 she came to the United States. The beginning of the Revolution of 1905 brought her back to Russia, and here once more is her own story, as recently told in the Petrograd magazine "Neeva."

"In 1905, as soon as the thundering of the struggle reached me, I set out immediately for Russia. This time I stole across the frontier with the aid of two smugglers and in company of a comrade who had with him a large quantity of dynamite.

"The Russian Revolution had come! And it sounded the reveille to the children of Russia, summoning them to an uneven struggle.

"Dear comrades! You undoubtedly remember the eventful days in the years 1905-'06 and '07. Even the concerted action of all the revolutionary parties could not withstand the terrible onslaught of the brute forces of an infamous government.

*"Siberia and the Exile System," by George Kennan, Vol. II, pp. 121-122.

But those efforts were not in vain: they awakened the slumbering consciousness of a great people and forced the masses to demonstrate their powers. . . . The din of battle died away; here and there the standards were put away for the next powerful and courageous uprising. The hangmen began their gruesome tasks of hanging, shooting and torturing the best and most valiant spirits among us. But my spirit showed no submissiveness; my heart overflowed with hope and I plunged headlong into the agitated waters of human affairs.

"I hoped for a common, general uprising of the masses after the dissolution of the Second Duma. But, it did not come. . . . In those days of depression on the one side and futile efforts on the other, I was again arrested in 1907, in the city of Samara.

"I thought that this time the hangman would not hesitate to have done with me once and for all time. And yet my heart told me otherwise.

"For two years and nine months, during which time I was imprisoned in the Fortress of St. Peter and Paul, I gave very little thought to myself. I looked forward to that inevitable hour when Russia, having passed through a second revolution, triumphant and solemn, would begin to build and transform our unfortunate land and its uneducated population into a model State, which in time might be held up to the rest of the world as an example of true culture and social well-being. A fervent desire to see my country free, and implicit faith in the latent spiritual and social forces of my country greatly encouraged me and lent wings to my hopes."

The Tzar's Government again sent the old woman to Siberia. There she remained, in exile, until the March Revolution of 1917, when the Provisional Government of Revolutionary Russia sent her a special invitation to return.

AMONG all the impressive pictures of the Russian Revolution perhaps the most beautiful is this return of Breshkovskaya to Petrograd. "I do not think that anywhere in the world there ever was a bride who received so many flowers," said the old heroine, smiling and pointing out to her car in the train, filled with flowers given her on her way from Siberia. She was met by enthusiastic crowds on every station, in her long journey; she saw all Russia, all her "grandchildren," workingmen, soldiers, peasants, and citizens of all ranks, greeting her as the symbol of the long and painful struggle for freedom in Russia. And she was beautiful in the midst of these cheering crowds, the old woman with gray head, calling the people to unity, to solidarity in building the new Russia.

The train was due at eleven o'clock. Long before that hour a crowd of thousands had collected at the station, and a voluntary guard of soldiers and students was trying to stem the pushing multitude. In the special car reserved for Breshkovskaya, were several men, some of whom had gone to meet her in Moscow. Among them was the Secretary of Justice, A. F. Kerensky, later Prime Minister of Russia.

Secretary Kerensky handed "Grandmother" a bouquet of red roses, and they kissed three times. She addressed him with the familiar "thou," and related with enthusiasm her visit to Moscow.

Breshkovskaya appeared at the door, leaning on Kerensky's arm. Taking off his hat, the Secretary of Justice addressed the crowd: "Comrades, the Grandmother of the Russian Revolution has returned at last to a free country. She has been in dungeons, in the penal settlements of Lena, has been tortured endlessly, yet here we have her with us, brave and happy. Let us shout 'Hurrah' for our dear Grandmother!"

The platform fairly shook with the thunder of acclamation that followed his words, and, to the accompaniment of rousing ovations, the beloved "Grandmother," led by Kerensky, walked to the reception rooms, where numerous deputations were awaiting her. A party of nurses came first, handing her

flowers and waving a red flag with the inscription: "Long live the Grandmother of the Russian Revolution, Ekaterina Constantinovna Breshko-Breshkovskaya!" The spokeswoman said: "We nurses are happy to see you, our beloved Grandmother, and to give you our humble greetings. We are but an infinitesimal group of all those sisters who, in this happy day for Russia, send you their humble and worshipful greetings."

The beloved woman was surrounded on all sides; women pushed one another to kiss her hands, men doffed their hats and shouted "Hurrah!" as Breshkovskaya, accompanied by Kerensky, proceeded to the waiting automobile to be taken to the Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. When the news came that "Grandmother" had arrived, everyone present rose and applauded and acclaimed the returning heroine. The ovation lasted a very long time.

The first to speak was Secretary A. F. Kerensky. He said: "I am happy and proud to greet you, Grandmother, in the name of the Russian Democracy and the Provisional Government. I am happy to greet you, whom the old Government persecuted and whom we now meet with such honor."

"In the name of the Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates," said N. S. Tscheidze, "I greet the woman who inspired the Russian Revolution. Let us hope that, with the same faith in the righteousness of the cause, she will continue to inspire us in our work of further conquests on the road of freeing Russia. Again I greet you humbly and salute you!"

One after another, representatives of various groups rose to greet the returning heroine. Deeply moved, Breshkovskaya replied to these greetings. Every one rose. She said:

"I have come over a long road. I am old and cannot remember everything. As I came out on the platform I saw the people; all around I saw workingmen. I came into this temple of freedom and see military organizations, workmen, cossacks, sailors. Thus, I have to-day had the happiness of seeing representatives of all organized Russia. Is not this

complete happiness! It proves that we can work in unison, free and happy, without discord, as one man.

"Dear citizens! I have been fifty years in the ranks of the Russian Revolution, and without boast can say that there was never one more true to duty, discipline, or who appreciated more the meaning of obligations. Never has there been any wrangling or disputes in my party on my account. I have always respected the opinions of my comrades and the rulings of the party to such an extent that I have invariably stood for a friendly settlement of the most disputable questions.

"Do I not see that you are all children of the same cause? The soldier—isn't he the same as the workingman? You are all children of our one great mother, Russia, and why should you suddenly begin to quarrel with one another?"

A soldier approached quite close to the platform where "Grandmother" was speaking. She picked out a rose from the bouquet and handed it to her "grandson." The soldier kissed her hand tenderly. Breshkovskaya gently stroked the soldier's hair, and continued amidst thundering applause:

"If we all aspire towards freedom and equality, what differences can there be between us? What is there to disagree about? Why put sticks in the spokes of one another's wheels? If we seek to overcome such an enemy, such a bitter foe of Russia, as Wilhelm, can we not overcome our little differences? It would say very little for our wisdom if we could not combat that.

"All these greetings, on all sides, addressed to one and the same person, to me, whom you call your 'Grandmother,' prove that you are unanimous. Everyone says, 'We will die for freedom.' In this I see solidarity. Everyone understands that if we do not overcome the foe, it will bring our country to grief; he, our bloody foe, will come and will dictate to us his laws. I am sure no one wants that. We do not desire any annexations, we have no wish to ruin others, but to allow yourselves to be trampled upon, to lose your self-esteem, that would be unworthy of great Russia!

"My children, nothing is obtained gratis. No complete freedom can be obtained without hard work. You know per-

haps better than I that nothing accomplishes itself—brain and spirit are necessary. For three years Russia has been suffering so, as no one has suffered, and perhaps more suffering will have to be borne before we reach the goal. Then let us unite and let us strive that no petty differences mar the way to our chief aim—the freedom and happiness of the whole nation."

Breshkovskaya ended her speech amidst enthusiastic and continuous applause.

The chair into which she sank was lifted by Kerensky, Tscheidze, Skobelev, and others, who placed it carefully on their shoulders, and accompanied by unprecedented acclamations and shouts of "Hurrah" carried it to the Ekaterininsk Hall, where they were met with further applause and ovations. Flowers were carried in front of the chair. A ring was formed around to clear the passage, and the beloved heroine was carried to the entrance.

Here a large gathering of representatives of the army, from the trenches and reserves, awaited her. "In the name of the Petrograd garrison of 25,000 men, allow me, Grandmother, to greet you!"

"Grandmother" patted the soldier gently and gave him a rose. "Go back," she said, "and tell them that Grandmother has sent them a rose and her greetings."

A Red Cross nurse approached. "In the name of the nurses on the Northern front, allow me to kiss you." "Grandmother" kissed her and gave her a rose also.

"I have been wounded four times," said an officer near by. "My brother lost his life for freedom. My father has suffered. It was with difficulty that I obtained permission to don a uniform to stand in the ranks of the army. Allow me to greet you in the name of the invalided."

"Thank you, dear, thank you."

A. A. Nazarov, Cossack, member of the Duma, greeted Breshkovskaya in the name of the members of the Duma:

"Long live the great Russian Grandmother! In your youth you spread the seed of freedom, and in your old age you have

made Russia happy. Long live the bearers of peace; long live the Russian woman!"

Our few pages devoted to Breshkovskaya may be best closed with the following excerpts from her own "Message to America, printed in the "Outlook" of November 21st, 1917.* She wrote this Message herself, and the Editors of the "Outlook" were right in reproducing it "untouched by any pedantic pen," because her broken English only "adds both to its force and to its charm."

"The effect of the liberty during the first month was wonderful all over Russia," says Breshkovskaya, in her Message to America. "It was not only a feast of joy and ecstasy that the people celebrated; it was an energetic effort to release itself from all the fetters which crippled the life and crushed the spirit. And as by a miracle, from one end to the other of the country it became free and hopeful, amiable and friendly to every good word, attention, and feeling. So reasonable and so strong at once. These days the people showed to the world his veritable character, the intimate form of his soul, the childish purity of his heart. No crimes, even no offenses, were committed.

"So it ran happily till Russia was invaded by the German spies in such a great number that they covered every city and district, for all who belonged to the Black Hundred in our country followed them and reinforced the forces sent by the Kaiser. These rejected people formed an army composed of different classes dissatisfied with the new régime and endeavoring to return the "blessed" time of rapine, espionage, persecution, and all the favors of the monarchy. Certainly they would be glad to see the Kaiser on the throne and the Socialists sent again to Siberia, and they began their propaganda as if they were true friends of the poor and oppressed, and by and by gained the confidence of the less enlightened....

"The people are so little cultured that they do not understand enough what disaster it would be for us to have the Germans as a strong and militarist neighbor; what disaster it would be to lose the friendship of all civilized nations. They

*Reprinted by courtesy of The Outlook Co.

are so ignorant that they do not know the position of Russia among other countries and international interests. That is our mischief.

"To that we shall add that no people in Europe suffered so much for centuries as it was the lot of our people, who longed for liberty and some welfare. Tormented, disappointed, Russia is eager to feel free, to have his own will and rest....

"Certainly the conditions we go through are hard and demand serious efforts, but I say that those who are profoundly interested in the welfare of the country are doing all they can to deliver it from both enemies—exterior and interior. One should not forget that Russia existed a thousand years under a yoke which isolated her from all civilization, and those who were enlightened passed their life in the prisons and in Siberia.

"Now we have to fight three enemies in our work of deliverance: Germany, the army of Black Hundreds, and the darkness of mind, the ignorance of our own people. We have to fight also against the corruption of morals imbibed during the last ten years, for after the revolution of 1905-6 the Russian Government did all it could to corrupt the population, to dissolve the sense of social unity, of common responsibility for the safety of the country, of the nation, of the common welfare. From the Czar himself to the last policeman, every one was bought by somebody. And, corrupted as they were themselves, they tried to do it with the rest of the nation, beginning from the schools and poor people, and going up to the very top of intelligent individuals."

GEORGE V. PLEKHANOV
(From a photograph taken several years ago)

CHAPTER V

George Valentinovich Plekhanov

GEORGE VALENTINOVICH PLEKHANOV, one of the founders of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party and the most eminent writer of that party, is of noble parentage. He was born in 1857 in the Province of Tambov. After having graduated from a military school, he entered the Institute of Mining Engineers. In St. Petersburg he became acquainted with the revolutionists of the party of the "Will of the People." During the demonstration before the Kazan Cathedral, on December 6, 1876, he made a fiery speech against the Tzar's Government and its policy.

Through the ingenuity of a workingman, he escaped arrest, but after that had to live "illegally."

Plekhanov was a prominent member of the organization "Land and Freedom," and one of the chief contributors to the publication bearing the same name. In this publication appeared his first literary work, "The Law of Economic Development and the Problems of Socialism," together with an outline of the Party's program. At this time Plekhanov was carrying on extensive propaganda among the workingmen in St. Petersburg. He was arrested, but was freed, thanks to a well-forged passport. During the same period he traveled extensively throughout Russia, preaching the Socialist ideal.

At the time the Central Committee of "Land and Freedom" had practically ceased to exist because of the numerous arrests, Plekhanov was in the Don region preparing an appeal to the "glorious troops of the Don region." Seeing the necessity for renewing the Party activities, he immediately returned to St. Petersburg. During the split that occurred in the Party, Plekhanov, as an advocate of agitation on an economic basis, chiefly among the city workingmen, energetically opposed the political tendencies of the party of the "Will of the People," especially their terrorist tactics. At the Voronezh Conference he was their severest and most determined opponent. After the Conference he seceded from the Party, together with Zasulich, Deutch and Stefanovitch. Their attempt to issue a paper, "Chorny Peredel," failed, because the first issue was seized and the secret printing plant was confiscated on January 28, 1880. Plekhanov was compelled to leave Russia. His activities among the workingmen in Russia, Plekhanov described in his pamphlet, "The Russian Worker in the Revolutionary Movement. Personal Recollections."

Even before leaving Russia, Plekhanov was known as a man of great erudition. Placed in a position where he could have sufficient leisure, he made a very thorough study of Socialism. The conditions of the time, the shipwreck the old teachings had suffered in Russia, bringing the question of new ways and methods of working and fighting to the foreground,

impelled him to make this thorough study. Plekhanov's views developed rapidly. He recognized the fallacy of the theory of Socialism he had advocated in the publication "Chorny Peredel," his negation of the necessity of political struggle. As a result, he adopted the teachings of scientific Socialism with its fundamental principle: "Every class struggle is a political struggle."

Though at the same time Plekhanov became fully convinced that the capitalistic phase of development was inevitable in Russia, yet his new political views drew him closer to the party of the "Will of the People." He joined the Party with the intention of reorganizing it in accordance with the principles of scientific Socialism. He accepted the invitation to edit, together with P. L. Lavrov and S. M. Kravchinsky (Stepniak), the "Vestnik Narodnoy Voli" (Messenger of The Will of the People), and for this purpose he prepared his article, "Socialism and the Political Struggle," containing a criticism of the shortcomings of the program of the party of the "Will of the People." For some unknown reasons, Tikhomirov, then Editor of the publication, disapproved of Plekhanov's new views, and Plekhanov left the Party.

In 1883 Plekhanov, together with Axelrod, Zasulich, Deutch and Ignatov, organized the first Russian Social-Democratic group, the "Group for the Emancipation of Labor," which aimed, through the publishing of books and pamphlets, to arouse a conscious working-class movement in Russia. This organization published Plekhanov's "Socialism and the Class Struggle," in 1883, and in 1884—"Our Differences of Opinion," which was a trenchant criticism of the party of the "Will of the People" and of their propagandist movement. This book, which accused the Russian Socialist Movement of that time of being unconsciously reactionary, was answered by similar accusations from the opposite camp, and thus a controversy was started between the Marxists, organized in the "Group for the Emancipation of Labor," and the party of the "Will of the People." Plekhanov continued this controversy in books and articles published in Russia. In 1895, under the nom de plume N. Beltov, appeared

ВТОРОЙ ГОДЪ ИЗДАНІЯ

РОССІЙСКАЯ СОЦІАЛЬ-ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКАЯ РАБОЧАЯ ПАРТІЯ

ИСКРА

№ 20

№ 20

ИЗЪ НАШЕЙ ОБЩЕСТВЕННОЙ ЖИЗНИ

"ISCRA" (THE SPARK)

Official organ of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party.
Published in Switzerland before the Revolution of 1905.

"On the Question of the Development of the Monistic Conception of History," which is the most complete and systematic exposition of dialectic materialism, and in 1896, under the nom de plume A. Volgin,—"The Fundamentals of the Popular Propaganda Movement, According to Mr. Vorontzov's Works." To the same subject he devoted series of articles in the "Social Democrat," "Zaria" and in other publications appearing abroad. From the beginning of the '90s Plekhanov was busily contributing to foreign literature, acquainting it with the various tendencies of Russian Socialism and elaborating the theories of scientific Socialism ("Anarchism and Socialism," "Gelvetziy, Golba and Marx" and other works). These works won him an international reputation as an authority on scientific Socialism and added to the prestige of the newly formed Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party. Because of his activities, Plekhanov was exiled for a short time in 1889 from Switzerland, and in 1895—from France.

At the same time that he was publishing his literary works, Plekhanov was constantly active in the Socialist Movement. In 1895 he entered the "Union of Russian Social-Democrats," founded by the "Group for the Emancipation of Labor." In the beginning of 1901 he joined the Social-Democratic groups "Iscra" and "Zaria," and contributed a number of articles to the publications bearing the same names.

The complicated political conditions which arose after the 17th of October, 1905, forced attention to the question of tactics, and caused Plekhanov to concentrate his literary activities on this question. He considered the Russian Revolution a purely bourgeois revolution entailing an inevitable, complicated and prolonged struggle for democratic reforms, through parliamentary action. From this point of view, he advocated participation in elections and urged the workers to support the liberals against the conservative parties. At that time Plekhanov published a series of articles and pamphlets against the Bolsheviki, who had made their appearance in the Party in 1903 ("Letters About Tactics and Tactlessness," "The Memoranda of a Publicist," "New Letters About Tactics and Tactlessness," "They and We," etc.).

Plekhanov's literary works, besides those mentioned above, consist of series of books, pamphlets and articles printed in periodicals. A number of his articles were collected in 1905-1906, in two volumes, published under the nom de plume N. Beltov, and entitled "During the Period of Twenty Years" and "A Criticism of Our Critics."

During the past fifteen years, Plekhanov has devoted a great deal of his time to the study of the development of Russian political thought and to the history of the Russian political movement. Among his works published during this period, two deserve especial mention: his book, "N. G. Chernyshevsky," the best exposition of the views of the famous Russian economist, and his "History of Russian Social Thought," a monumental work in five volumes, two of which have already appeared in print.

George Plekhanov is recognized all the world over as one of the greatest Marxian writers of our time. In this great war Plekhanov's position has been clear from the very beginning. As a democrat and a Socialist, he has considered it his elementary duty to stand with the Allied democracies in their battle with the German autocracy. We quoted above, on pages 160-166, from the Socialist Manifesto addressed to the Russian laboring masses, issued soon after the beginning of the war. We mentioned George Plekhanov as one of the signers of the Manifesto, and, since it is most probable that he was the real author of it, we will repeat some parts which have proven really prophetic.

"We, the undersigned, belong to the different shades of Russian socialistic thought. We differ on many things, but we firmly agree in that the defeat of Russia in her struggle with Germany would mean her defeat in her struggle for freedom.

"If you say to yourselves that it is immaterial to you and to your less developed brothers as to who wins in the great international collision going on now, and if you act accordingly, Russia will be crushed by Germany. And when Russia will be crushed by Germany, it will fare badly with the Allies. This does not need any demonstration.

"If the Germans win the final victory, they will demand of us an enormous contribution, in comparison with which the streams of gold poured into victorious Germany from vanquished France, after the war of 1871, will seem a mere trifle.

"But that will not be all. The most consequent and frank heralds of German imperialism are saying even now that it is necessary to exact from Russia the cession of important territory, which should be cleared from the present population for the greater convenience of German settlers. Never before have plunderers, dreaming of despoiling a conquered people, displayed such cynical heartlessness!

"But for our vanquishers it will not be enough to exact an unheard-of enormous contribution and to tear up our western border lands. Already in 1904, Russia, being in a difficult situation, was obliged to conclude a commercial treaty with Germany, very disadvantageous to herself. The treaty hindered, at the same time, the development of our agriculture and the progress of our industries. It affected, with equal disadvantage, the interests of the farmers as well as of those engaged in industries. It is easy to imagine what kind of treaty victorious German imperialism would impose upon us. In economic matters, Russia would become a German colony. Russia's further economic development would be greatly hindered if not altogether stopped. Degeneration and deprivation would be the result of German victory for an important part of the Russian working people.

"What will German victory bring to Western Europe? After all we have already said, it is needless to expatiate on how many of the unmerited economic calamities it will bring to the working population of the western countries, allied to Russia. We wish to draw your attention to the following: England, France, even Belgium and Italy, are in a political sense far ahead of the German Empire, which has not as yet grown up to a parliamentary regime. German victory over these countries would be the victory of the old over the new, and if the democratic ideal is dear to you, you must wish success to our western Allies.

"Indifference to the issue of this war would be, for us, equal

to political suicide. The most important, the most vital interests of the proletariat and of the laboring peasantry demand of you an active participation in the defense of the country.... Your watchword must be 'Victory over the foreign enemy.' In an active movement towards such victory, the live forces of the people will become free and strong.

"The tactics which can be defined by the motto, 'All or nothing,' is the tactics of anarchy, fully unworthy of the conscious representatives of the proletariat and peasantry. The General Staff of the German army would greet, with pleasure, the news that we had adopted such tactics. Believe us that this staff is ready to help all those who would like to preach it in our country. They want trouble in Russia, they want strikes in England, they want everything that would facilitate the achievement of their conquering schemes.

"But you will not make them rejoice. You will not forget the words of our great fabulist: 'What the enemy advises is surely bad.' The situation is such that we cannot come to freedom in any other way than by the war of national defense."

As we have said before, unfortunately, after a year of revolutionary development, since March, 1917, other tendencies than the tendencies obvious in this Manifesto have gained control over the Russian proletariat and especially over the soldiers. Lenine's influence, at least temporarily, has overwhelmed the influence of George Plekhanov. But Plekhanov and the spirit of his teachings are still alive. The demagogism of the Bolsheviki may have a temporary success, but the main support of the Bolsheviki, the remains of the old Russian Army, will soon disappear, and as for the part of the proletariat influenced by the Bolshevist promises, life is already bringing it to a proper understanding of Russia's problems. The Russian proletariat will be, in the future, as in the past, led by the Russian Social-Democracy, and the latter, en masse, will turn again for leadership to the man who has devoted his entire life to finding the ways where the greatest dreams of the greatest leaders of humanity meet the prosaic laws of life.

"Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their naive majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor."

PRESIDENT WILSON.

(In his Address before Congress, April 2, 1917)

Tavrichesky Palace—the meeting place of the Duma. The Petrograd center of the Revolution in March, 1917.

CHAPTER I

The March Revolution

IT is needless to repeat in detail the well-known history of the March Revolution of 1917. The Revolution started in Petrograd, where the revolutionary crowds were, in the course of a few days, joined by the garrison. It made its appearance immediately in Moscow and in the provincial cities, the troops joining the revolutionists everywhere. The Imperial Duma, represented by its Executive Committee, with President M. V. Rodzianko at the head, and the Generals commanding the Russian Armies promptly joined the movement, and to this may be attributed its unusual swiftness.

The Revolution began in Petrograd on the 11th of March, and on the 15th its first stage was already an accomplished fact: the Tzar had abdicated and a Provisional Government had been formed, with Prince G. E. Lvov at its head.

Among the many human documents reflecting these wonderful days of the March Revolution, of especial value is an American's story, told by an eye-witness, a story published in the New York "Evening Post" of May 5th, 1917.* Given in

*Reprinted by courtesy of the New York Evening Post Co.

the form of a letter received in this country from Moscow, the first part of the story deals, as the readers will observe, with events in Petrograd:

"Moscow, Russia, March 15.—This letter, I am fairly sure, will eventually fall into your hands, for some one is kind enough to take it to America for me. The last three days have been historical and every one declares that to-day, the 15th of

Funeral procession following the bodies of the fallen fighters for freedom. March 23, 1917.

March, is going to be an annual holiday in Russia to celebrate this marvelously successful Revolution.

"On Thursday last, the 8th of March, H. was in Petrograd, and, as far as I can gather, there was a strike among the workmen for bread. This strike was put down with a little bloodshed by the soldiers. Now, this strike was the final bubbling over of a kettle that had been long in the boiling. All over Russia there had been the desperate feeling of being betrayed to the Germans, that no matter how great their courage and sacrifice might be, in the end, the fruit of their sacrifices would be denied them and everything handed over to the Germans. Whole regiments have been wiped out at

M. V. RODZIANKO
President of the Duma.

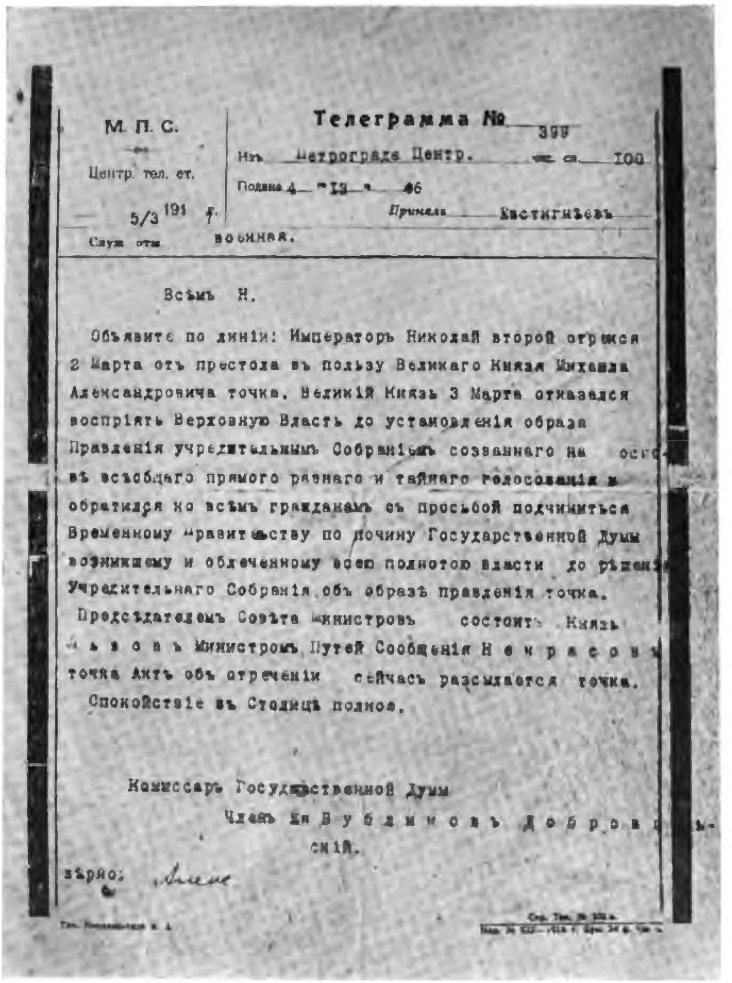
FIRST PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
From left to right: P. N. Miliukov, Prince G. E. Lvov, A. F. Kerensky, N. V. Nekrasov, A. I. Konovalov, Prof. A. A. Manuilov, A. I. Guchkov, A. I. Shingariev, A. I. Terestchenko, I. V. Godniev, V. N. Lvov and F. I. Rodichev.

the front, sent there without arms. Brusilov, every one, has been hindered in every possible way while the German officials were nullifying all Russia's gigantic sacrifices. They all say, 'If we had only a chance, we would have beaten the Germans long ago.' The chance has never been given them, and they were being driven crazy by the thought.

"The Most Enduring Union"—a revolutionary poster representing the union between the soldier, the workingman, the peasant and the sailor. They bear a banner inscribed with "Down with Absolutism!"

"I have just come back from Kazan; there, steaks are being sold for fifty kopeks and bread and compote for fifty kopeks. Two hundred versts from Moscow there were masses of white bread going begging; in Moscow, bread lines were everywhere and, of course, there was great suffering. The Russians are all convinced that the Germans are responsible for this, and I imagine that they are. Every one despised the Tzar, hated the Empress as a traitress, and all agreed that Russia was in as bad a way as she well could be, and that the war could not go on under such conditions very much longer.

"To return to the sequence of events. On Friday, March the



М. П. С.

Центр. тел. ст.

5/3 191 г.

Служ. отм. военная.

Телеграмма № 399

Изъ Петрограда Центр. ст. 100

Подана 4 — 13 — 46

Принялъ Евстигнѣевъ

Всѣмъ Н.

Объявите по линіи: Императоръ Николай второй отрекся 2 Марта отъ престола въ пользу Великаго Князя Михаила Александровича точка. Великій Князь 3 Марта отказался воспріять Верховную Власть до установленія образа Правленія учредительнымъ Собраніемъ созваннаго на осно- въ всеобщаго прямого равнаго и тайнаго голосованія и обратился ко всѣмъ гражданамъ съ просьбой подчиниться Временному Правительству по почину Государственной Думы возникшему и облеченному всею полнотою власти до рѣшенія Учредительнаго Собранія объ образѣ правленія точка.

Предсѣдателемъ Совѣта Министровъ состоитъ Князь Львовъ Министромъ Путей Сообщенія Некрасовъ точка Актъ объ отреченіи сейчасъ разсылается точка.

Спокойствіе въ Столицѣ полное.

Комиссаръ Государственной Думы

Членъ Ея Бублиновъ Добровольскій.

Вѣрно: Алекс

Facsimile of the telegram sent out by the Commissaire of the Duma, A. A. Boublikov, to all the railroads, announcing the abdication of Nicholas II and the formation of the Provisional Government.

A Vision of the Past—The notorious Viliuysk Prison in Siberia, where, among others, the famous economist, N. G. Chernyshevsky, and later one of the leaders of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, M. R. Gotz, were imprisoned. The March Revolution brought back from Siberia tens of thousands of political prisoners and exiles.

ninth, in Petrograd, crowds began gathering and on Saturday afternoon the storm broke. There was no mob rioting in the streets. All was too well organized. It was a battle between the regiments on the people's side and those on the Tzar's. All Friday, the people had been mingling with patrolling infantry and cavalry, arguing with them and explaining the causes of their revolt; they only wanted bread. 'Dear little soldiers, don't shoot us, all we want is bread;' and in this business the women were as active as the men. The Pavlovsk regiment went over first, killed its colonel and joined the people. Then one by one, the people gained company after company and, finally, on Saturday only one regiment remained loyal. This regiment took up its quarters across the Liteinaya with machine guns and waited. Meanwhile all the officers had had their swords taken away and those who resisted were killed. The policemen were locked up in a big building and burned alive. That seems to have been the only really bloody slaughter.

"H. was passing a soldier on guard; as he passed, a student grabbed the soldier's gun and killed him with his own bayonet and was himself killed by an officer's pistol instantaneously. On Saturday evening and Sunday morning the revolting regiments fought the one loyal regiment in the following way: riding in great motor trucks (they had seized all the motors and artillery) they dashed down the Liteinaya, shooting, then turned up a side street and gained cover, then turned back into the Liteinaya and repeated the performance. On Sunday morning H. was innocently walking up the Liteinaya when he suddenly heard the machine-guns fairly roar out and he dodged behind a buttress and saw the whole thing. Pools of blood and dead everywhere. When he left on Sunday night, the scene was very dramatic. A tremendous searchlight on the Admiralty tower made the Nevsky as bright as day, and cavalry were patrolling up and down the street; great red glares lit up the sky from burning buildings; machine-guns and rifles rattled occasionally and, now and then, field guns on the Nevsky boomed out and bullets went screaming by, skipping along over the snow. In the square at the station

was a vast mob howling bloody murder. Anarchy seemed imminent. As you know, however, that was the last day of the disorders; on Monday all was organized and the Tzar had been called back from the front by the very Duma which he had dissolved.

"When H. arrived in Moscow on Monday morning I was having my breakfast and he told me the news. I was fairly

Moscow Municipal Duma Building. The Moscow center of the Revolution in March, 1917.

knocked out, for it was indeed news to me. Of course, the same news came down with him on the train, and, as we were talking, a crowd of students went by the hotel singing. I shall never forget the thrill. The Revolution was on here, too. There were crowds of people in front of the Duma (city council) which is situated opposite the Sacred Yellow Gate which leads to the Red Square. On the Duma itself the red flag was flying. We mingled with the crowds and watched. Troops began marching. The soldiers grimly enough and the people wheedling them as they walked alongside, begging them not to shoot and saying that all they wanted was bread; and the appeals to refrain from shooting were not made from

fear. As we watched, a squadron of cavalry galloped in formation of fours through the gate, formed in a long line, two deep, and charged the crowd, and the crowd did not move an inch, did not even sway. Once in a while, one of the marching soldiers would wave his hat and the crowd would cheer wildly. It seemed to dread bloodshed, but to be ready to stand anything if the test should come. The soldiers lined the Red Square, both infantry and cavalry, and a crowd of, perhaps, ten thousand people stood around, mostly students, arguing with the soldiers. So the situation remained through Monday night.

"On Tuesday morning things were stirring early. The streets leading to the Duma Square were filled with masses of strangely silent people; students everywhere kept marvellous order. The roadway was kept open. No one was allowed in the Red Square or in the path of the troops or in the Duma Square. They realized well that, if a great mob collected in the squares, and became entangled with the soldiers, great disturbances would follow. This must be avoided, and the students controlled the crowd in a good-humored, cheerful way, and no one was angry as yet. One angry word from an officer, a stray shot, or a drunken brawler would at that stage have meant a bloody riot. Thanks to the students' wonderful organization, however, it never occurred. They were everywhere. Some linking arms and holding back the crowd; others walking through the crowd urging temperance and patience; others talking with the soldiers. During all of Tuesday, detachments deserted and came over to the crowd, and, as they marched along shouting their wonderful marching songs, the crowd cheered them wildly. All day this went on, and by night-time the Duma Square was packed with men. Perfect discipline had been maintained all day. The crowd was kept in the streets, not allowed to mass in the squares, while the garrison was slowly coming over.

"On Wednesday morning the first company of Cossacks rode in. They were wildly cheered. All felt now that the Revolution had nothing to fear if the hated Cossacks were on their side. During the morning they acquired three field-guns and much

cavalry. At five o'clock they pointed a field-gun at the Kremlin Gate, massed their soldiers, and gave the regulars five minutes to surrender. The Kremlin surrendered, then the Manege, and now, without a single shot being fired, the Revolution was in control of Moscow. As fast as the old Government brought in outside regiments, they went over to the people. The sight on Wednesday night can never be forgotten—the vast, cheering crowds, the deep-throated singing of the marching soldiers, the stacked arms and bivouac fires in the Duma Square, the artillery commanding the approaches. There were now about fifteen guns in the Square, with their caissons. All the streets as far as the eye could see were packed with crowds, and then more crowds cheering, cheering, almost ready to cry with joy, laughing and talking quietly together, as Russians do. All through, there had been no loud yelling—either cheering or quiet talking. No uproariousness, no hooliganism, and this you could understand when you looked at the crowd. They all seemed prosperous and well-to-do. All in furs. No roughs or toughs. All either good old mujiks or the intelligentsia. And all so very happy. Every one went home at night. When I went out this morning, the Revolution was over. Constitutional government was assured, and the whole people began to make holiday.

"If there had been masses yesterday, what were there to-day? The squares were a solid mass, and the streets also. I made my way through it to a small hill looking down on the square of the Great Theatre, and the streets leading to it. A vast river of people was flowing down the hill with a band at its head, playing the Marseillaise; the cheering was one solid roar, and, as far as the eye could see, was a vast mass of men and women, all carrying red flags. Various lanes were kept open by the students, and down these marched the soldiers, also processions of all kinds, some of women, usually singing the Marseillaise, some of auto-trucks filled with officers and students waving red flags, some of fire engines. It was all a great holiday. I did not hear an angry voice or see an angry face all day. Gradually they began to disperse, and by six o'clock they were all quiet again. Perfect order had been

maintained. One or two men had tried to start a pogrom. They were immediately arrested. A little boy near me yelled out 'Oorah!' An officer turned round and said 'Nye kreetchi, maltchik' (don't scream, little boy); that is the motto of the Revolution; noise and disturbance were frowned upon.

"Such has been the chronological sequence of events in Petrograd and Moscow. Minor details have not been lacking. Yesterday in the hotel at lunch, a committee came up, and ordered the kitchen closed, and most of the waiters rushed out into the street, our waiter brandishing his fist in the face of the manager as he went. To-day he brought us breakfast as if nothing had happened. This morning they brought in all the political prisoners, old, haggard men, white hair, all that political prisoners should be, to the Duma, two trucks full of them, and the crowd wept as they went past. It was all very wonderful. At first the crowds were worried and afraid, gradually they became more and more confident and good-natured, and, on the last day, the flags were all red, the crowds all cheering, and the soldiers all singing. I hope never to forget it. And all to-day the snow is quietly falling.

"It seems to me as if a great weight were lifted off Russia. No more Germans in control; no more secret police; no more passports; freedom of the press. At last, they say, our country is going to develop; no longer are we under the thumb of Germany; as a united people and nation we are going to fulfil our destiny, and we are going to make an end to the war by throwing the whole of Russia's strength into it, unhampered by Germans. The last few years have seemed a horrid nightmare as they struggled under the thumb of Germany; now they have shaken themselves free and breathe again. How proud they are of their Revolution! 'Look how cleverly we did it! No bloodshed! No disagreeableness!' Even as I write a great chorus bursts out, as soldiers go marching by, a wonderful chorus that dies in the distance. It is more than I can write about. It is so great and magnificent a sight that we are both of us knocked out and speechless."

ВРЕМЕННОЕ ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВО

ОБЪЯВЛЯЕТЪ.

ГРАЖДАНЪ РОССІЙСКАГО ГОСУДАРСТВА.

Палъ старый порядокъ, наслѣдіе выродившагося самодержавія, цѣпи, народную силу, разбиты.

Великій переворотъ завершилъ долгіе годы борьбы, поглотившей [illegible] силы и стоившей нашей родинѣ жизни и свободы многихъ лучшихъ ея сыновъ.

17 Октября 1905 г., казалось, побѣда была одержана. Конституціонный строй былъ провозглашенъ. Но [illegible] лицемѣрно и лживо пойдя на вынужденныя уступки, оправившись отъ первыхъ ударовъ, [illegible] сѣяла повсюдную общественную рознь, погромами, безпощадной расправой и кровавыми казнями съ перваго же дня стремилась растоптать народившуюся свободу. Не смотря на всѣ усилія старой власти, Первая Государственная Дума сумѣла выразить основныя народныя требованія. Она была распущена. Не добилась побѣды и Вторая Дума. Въ нарушеніе Основныхъ Законовъ верховная власть измѣнила избирательный законъ съ цѣлью создать послушную ей Думу и въ теченіе ряда годовъ, непрерывно борясь съ народными стремленіями, тормозила преобразованія, [illegible] своекорыстно [illegible] удержать старый укладъ, недававшій развернуться духовной мощи и хозяйственной жизни народа.

Вспыхнула война. Всѣ правительства Западной Европы поняли, что побѣды можно достигнуть только величайшимъ напряженіемъ всѣхъ силъ и полнымъ единеніемъ съ народомъ. Они привлекли въ свой составъ наиболѣе даровитыхъ и безупречныхъ дѣятелей, почитаемыхъ населеніемъ. Николай II, попрежнему [illegible] чуждался общенія съ народомъ и [illegible] лишь о томъ, чтобы власть оставалась въ рукахъ приверженцевъ стараго порядка. Онъ находилъ ихъ среди низкопоклонныхъ, алчныхъ, порою безчестныхъ людей, не способныхъ подняться до пониманія государственныхъ нуждъ. Люди эти думали объ одной своей выгодѣ, пренебрегали дѣломъ народной обороны, а иные изъ нихъ, чьи позорныя имена не изгладятся изъ народной памяти, предъ лицомъ врага торговали

Facsimile of the project of the first appeal issued by the Provisional Government to the citizens of free Russia. The project was prepared by Prof. P. I. Novgorodtzev; the corrections in pencil were made by N. V. Nekrasov, the Minister of Means of Communication in the Provisional Government, and the corrections in ink—by Prof. P. N. Miliukov, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Provisional Government.

The translation of this document is given on pp. 248-251.

судьбою родины и запятнали себя измѣною. И за спиною этого ничтожнаго правительства все увѣреннѣе укрѣплялась безотвѣтственная сила темныхъ проходимцевъ, распутныхъ и преступныхъ. Они назначали и смѣняли министровъ. Ихъ невѣжественный голосъ разрѣшалъ государственныя дѣла. Дружба и близость съ ними легла позоромъ на имя русскаго императора и отвратила отъ него всѣхъ честныхъ сыновъ родины.

Чаша народнаго терпѣнія переполнилась. Могучій порывъ сплотилъ во-едино всѣхъ гражданъ. На сторонѣ царя не нашлось никого. Оставленный всѣми и сознавая свое безсиліе, онъ отрекся отъ престола за себя и за сына и передалъ наслѣдіе свое брату. Великій Князь Михаилъ Александровичъ отказался воспріять верховную власть. Онъ призналъ, что нынѣ только воля народа можетъ опредѣлить образъ правленія и рѣшить судьбу престола. Всѣхъ гражданъ Державы Россійской онъ проситъ подчиниться Временному Правительству, возникшему по почину Государственной Думы и облеченному всею полнотою власти.

Во имя долга передъ родиною, Временное Правительство приняло на себя тяжелое бремя этой власти и передъ лицомъ народа нынѣ несетъ отвѣтственность за его судьбу. Оно сможетъ исполнить свой долгъ, лишь черпая силы въ сознаніи единенія съ Государственною Думою и въ могучей поддержкѣ русской арміи, трудящихся массъ и общественныхъ организацій.

Главною своею задачею Временное Правительство почитаетъ созывъ въ возможно кратчайшій срокъ Учредительнаго Собранія. Оно будетъ созвано на началахъ всеобщаго, прямого, равнаго и тайнаго голосованія и установитъ Основные Законы будущаго государственнаго строя, угоднаго народу.

Не допуская возможнымъ, чтобы отъ участія въ выборахъ устранены были доблестные защитники родины, нынѣ проливающіе кровь на поляхъ сраженій, Временное Правительство установитъ порядокъ, обезпечивающій это участіе.

Временное Правительство не призвано къ разрѣшенію всѣхъ назрѣвшихъ законодательныхъ вопросовъ. Это задача Учредительнаго Собранія и тѣхъ законодательныхъ установленій, которыя будутъ имъ созданы. Но Временное Правительство считаетъ непремѣннымъ своимъ долгомъ нынѣ же осуществить полную амнисті

Facsimile of the project of the first appeal issued by the Provisional Government to the citizens of free Russia, page 2.

по дѣламъ политическимъ и религіознымъ, обезпечить населенію права гражданской свободы и гражданскаго равенства и ввести всеобщее избирательное право при выборахъ органовъ мѣстнаго самоуправленія.

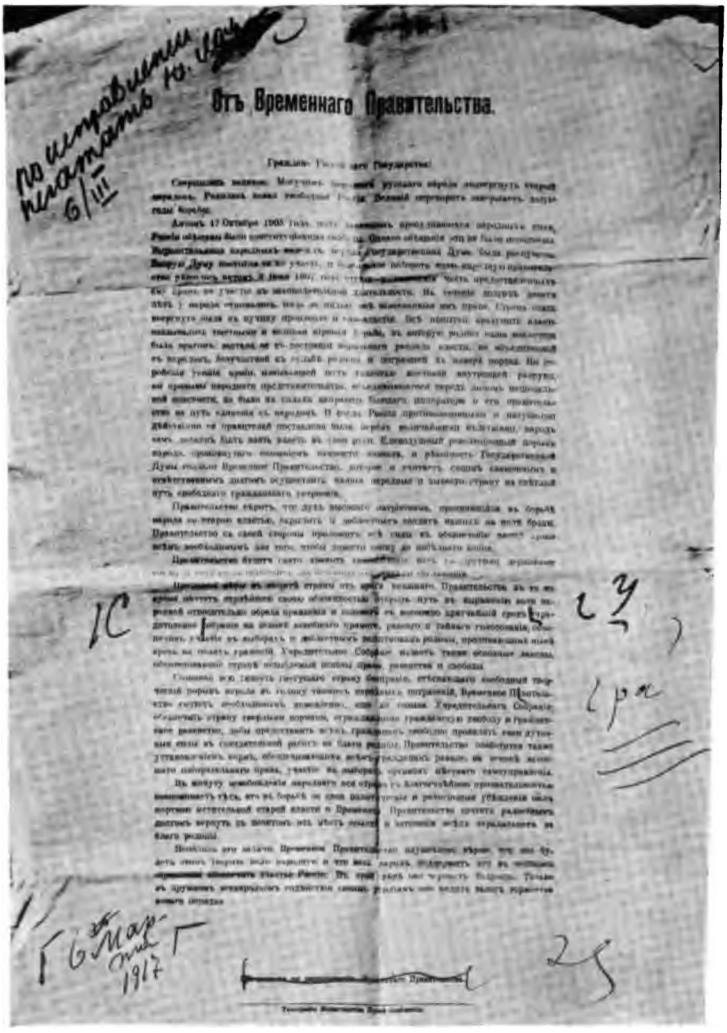
Но во главѣ всѣхъ народныхъ задачъ нынѣ стоитъ величайшая задача побѣдоноснаго окончанія войны въ единеніи съ нашими вѣрными и доблестными союзниками. Мы вошли, или и они, передъ расширенія границъ государства, а для созданія условій прочнаго мира, соотвѣтствующаго достоинству великой державы.

и необходимыхъ для достиженія ею великихъ національныхъ задачъ.

Граждане Россійскаго Государства! въ наступившую нынѣ историческую минуту объединеніемъ и напряженіемъ всѣхъ нашихъ силъ поможемъ великому подвигу нашей геройской арміи сражающейся на фронтѣ. Впереди еще предстоитъ не мало тягостей и лишеній. Мирясь съ ихъ неизбѣжностью, терпѣливо перенося ихъ, будемъ помнить, что только упорнымъ и самоотверженнымъ трудомъ, постепенно создаются условія новой лучшей жизни.

Къ этому труду всѣхъ насъ призываетъ Россія!

Facsimile of the project of the first appeal issued by the Provisional Government to the citizens of free Russia, page 3.



Отъ Временнаго Правительства.

Facsimile of the first proof of the first appeal issued by the Provisional Government to the citizens of free Russia.

THE first Provisional Government was composed as follows: Prime Minister—Prince G. E. Lvov, former President of the All-Russian Zemstvos Union; Minister of Foreign Affairs—Professor Paul N. Miliukov; Minister of War and Navy—A. I. Guchkov; Minister of Finance—M. I. Terestchenko; Minister of Justice—A. F. Kerensky ; Minister of Trade and Commerce—A. I. Konovalov; Minister of Agriculture—A. I. Shingariev; Minister of Means of Communication —N. V. Nekrasov; Minister of Education—Professor A. A. Manuilov; State Comptroller—M. Godniev; Procurator of the Holy Synod—N. V. Lvov.

The composition of the first Cabinet shows clearly the important role which the Executive Committee of the Duma played in the first days of the Revolution. Two factors influenced the composition of the Cabinet: the Executive Committee of the Duma, a well organized and a stable body, and the Council of Workingmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, which had just then come into being. The Revolutionary Democracy was not yet properly organized, and the Executive Committee of the Duma was given almost carte blanche in making up the Cabinet. Therefore, the first Cabinet reflected more the proportional forces of the different parties in the Duma, which had been elected on the basis of extremely undemocratic suffrage, than their relative power in the country. The first Cabinet consisted of seven Constitutional-Democrats, three Octobrists and one Socialist—A. F. Kerensky. Such a composition was not very fortunate and contained in itself the possibility for future conflicts.

The first act of the Provisional Government was the following appeal, dated March 18, 1917:

"Citizens: The Executive Committee of the Duma, with the aid and support of the garrison of the capital and its inhabitants, has succeeded in triumphing over the obnoxious forces of the old regime so that we can proceed to a more stable organization of the executive power, with men whose past political activity assures them the country's confidence.

The new Cabinet will base its policy on the following principles:

ИЗВѢСТІЯ

2-3-го марта 1917 г. № 6-7. БЕЗПЛАТНО.

НОВОЕ ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВО.

Исполнительный Комитет, Государственной Думы объявляет следующий список нового правительства:

1. Кн. Г. Е. ЛЬВОВЪ—председатель совѣта министровъ и министръ внутреннихъ дѣлъ (Тульской губ., нѣтъ Г. Думы, председатель главнаго комитета всероссійскаго земскаго союза).
2. П. Н. МИЛЮКОВЪ — министръ иностранныхъ дѣлъ (члена Г. Думы отъ гор. Петрограда).
3. А. Ф. КЕРЕНСКІЙ—министръ юстиціи (члена Г. Думы отъ Саратовской губ.).
4. Н. В. НЕКРАСОВЪ—министръ путей сообщенія (члена рѣчь представляетъ Г. Думу).
5. А. И. КОНОВАЛОВЪ—министръ торговли и промышленности (члена представляетъ Думу отъ текстильной).
6. Прин. А. А. МАКУТОВЪ—министръ народнаго просвѣщенія (бывшій членъ Г. Совѣта, бывшій ректоръ московскаго университета).
7. А. И. ГУЧКОВЪ—военный министръ и военный морской (члена Г. Совѣта, представитель промышленнаго капитала).
8. А. И. ШИНГАРЕВЪ—министръ земледѣлія (члена Гос. Думы отъ гор. Петрограда).
9. М. И. ТЕРЕЩЕНКО—министръ финансовъ.
10. Б. Н. ПЕЛЛОНЪ—обер-прокуроръ св. синода (члена Гос. Думы отъ Самарской губ.).
11. Н. В. ГОДНЕВЪ—государственный контролеръ (члена Гос. Думы отъ Новгородской губ.).
12. О. И. РОДИЧЕВЪ — министръ по дѣламъ Финляндіи (чл. Гос. Думы отъ гор. Петрограда).

Постоянный составъ правительства установится послѣ истребованія Исполнительнаго Комитета Гос. Думы съ Исполнительнымъ Комитетомъ Совѣта Рабочихъ Депутатовъ.

Отъ Временнаго Правительства.

Граждане!

[illegible]

Рѣчь П. Н. Милюкова.

[illegible]

Официальныя сообщенія изъ ставки.

Западный фронтъ.

На Двинскомъ и Рижскомъ фронтахъ бои прекратились.

Кавказскій фронтъ.

На Сивочскомъ направленіи наши войска обошли городъ Ханъ-Кендиханъ и продолжаютъ наступленіе къ Ване.

[illegible]

Отъ министра юстиціи А. Ф. Керенскаго и представителя Совѣта Рабочихъ Депутатовъ.

[illegible]

Рѣчь А. Ф. Керенскаго въ Совѣтѣ Рабочихъ Депутатовъ.

[illegible]

ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ БАНКЪ

и всѣ частные банки будутъ открыты сегодня, 3 марта, для производства всѣхъ операцій отъ 11 ч. утра до 1 ч. дня.

An historical copy of "Izvestia" (News), a revolutionary publication born with the Revolution. This copy contains the announcement of the creation of the Provisional Government, the first Appeal of the new Government and the speeches of P. N. Miliukov and A. F. Kerensky.

Woman Suffrage Demonstration in Petrograd, bearing banner: "Without the participation of women, suffrage is not 'universal'." One of the early acts of the Provisional Government extended full political rights to women.

First—An immediate general amnesty for all political and religious offenses, including terrorist acts and military and agrarian offenses.

Second—Liberty of speech and of the press; freedom for alliances, unions, and strikes, with the extension of these liberties to military officials, within the limits admitted by military requirements.

Third—Abolition of all social, religious, and national restrictions.

Fourth—To proceed forthwith to the preparation and convocation of a Constituent Assembly, based on universal suffrage. This Assembly will establish a stable governmental regime.

Fifth—The substitution of the police by a national militia, with chiefs to be elected and responsible to the Municipalities.

Sixth—Communal elections to be based on universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage.

Seventh—The troops which participated in the Revolutionary Movement will not be disarmed, but will remain in Petrograd.

Eighth—While maintaining strict military discipline for troops in active service, it is desirable to abrogate for soldiers all restrictions in the enjoyment of civil rights accorded other citizens.

"The Provisional Government desires to add that it has no intention of taking advantage of war conditions to delay the realization of the measures of reform above mentioned."

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, P. N. Miliukov, gave official notice of the Revolution to the world, on March 18, receiving the diplomatic representatives of the Allies. His address, transmitted by cable to all Russian diplomats abroad, was as follows:

"The news transmitted by the Petrograd Telegraphic Agency already has acquainted you with the events of the last few days and the fall of the old political regime in Russia, which collapsed lamentably in the face of popular indignation provoked by its carelessness, its abuses, and its criminal lack

of foresight. The unanimity of resentment which the order of things now at an end had aroused among all healthy elements of the nation, has considerably facilitated the crisis. All these elements having rallied with enthusiasm to the noble flag of Revolution, and the Army having lent them its speedy and effective support, the National Movement obtained decisive victory within eight days.

"I will sell the bread and I will buy a Liberty bond"—a revolutionary poster calling upon the citizens of free Russia to subscribe to the Liberty Loan.

"This rapidity of realization fortunately made it possible to reduce the number of victims to a figure unprecedentedly small, in the annals of upheavals of such extent and importance.

"By an act dated from Pskov, March 15, Emperor Nicholas renounced the throne for himself and his heir, Grand Duke Alexis Nikolaievich, in favor of Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovich. In reply to a notification which was made to him of this act, Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovich, by an act dated Petrograd, March 16, in his turn, renounced assumption of supreme power until the time when a Constituent

Assembly, created on the basis of universal suffrage, should have established a form of government and new fundamental laws for Russia. By this same act, Michael Alexandrovich invited the citizens of Russia, pending a definite manifestation of the national will, to submit to the authority of the Provisional Government. The composition of the Provisional Government and its political program have been published and transmitted to foreign countries.

"This Government, which assumes power at the moment of the greatest external and internal crisis which Russia has known in the course of her history, is fully conscious of the immense responsibility it incurs. It will apply itself first to repairing the overwhelming errors bequeathed to it by the past, to insuring order and tranquillity in the country, and, finally, to preparing the conditions necessary in order that the sovereign will of the nation may be freely pronounced as to its future fate.

"In the domain of foreign policy, the Cabinet, in which I am charged with the portfolio of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, will remain mindful of the international engagements entered into by the fallen régime, and will honor Russia's word. We shall carefully cultivate relations which unite us with other friendly and allied nations, and we are confident that these relations will become even more intimate, more solid, under the new régime established in Russia, which is resolved to be guided by the democratic principles of respect due to both small and great nations, to the freedom of their development, and to good understanding among nations.

"But the Government cannot forget for a single instant the grave external circumstances under which it assumes power. Russia did not will the war which has been drenching the world with blood for nearly three years. But, victim of premeditated aggression prepared long ago, she will continue, as in the past, to struggle against the spirit of conquest of a predatory race which has aimed at establishing an intolerable hegemony over its neighbors and subjecting Europe of the twentieth century to the shame of domination by Prussian militarism. Faithful to the pact which unites her indissolubly

to her glorious Allies, Russia is resolved, like them, to assure the world, at all costs, an era of peace among the nations, on the basis of stable national organization guaranteeing respect for right and justice. She will fight by their side against the common enemy until the end, without cessation and without faltering.

"The Government of which I form a part will devote all its energy to bring the war to a victorious conclusion and will apply itself to the task of repairing as quickly as possible the errors of the past, which hitherto have paralyzed the aspirations and the self-sacrifice of the Russian people. I am firmly convinced that the marvelous enthusiasm, which to-day animates the whole nation, will multiply its strength in time and hasten the hour of the final triumph of a regenerated Russia and her valiant Allies."

Two days later, on March 20, the Russian Provisional Government issued the following manifesto to the nation:

"Citizens: The great work has been accomplished. By a powerful stroke the Russian people have overthrown the old régime. A new Russia is born. This coup d'état is the culmination of long years of struggle.

"Under pressure of awakened national forces, the act of Oct. 17, 1905, promised Russia constitutional liberties, which were never granted. The First Duma, the mouthpiece of the national will, was dissolved. The Second Duma met the same fate, and the Government, powerless to crush the national will, decided by the act of June 3, 1907, to deprive the people of part of the legislative rights promised them.

"During the ensuing ten years the Government successively withdrew from the people all the rights they had won. The country was again thrown into the abyss of absolute ruin and administrative arbitrariness. All attempts to make the voice of reason heard were vain, and the great world struggle into which the country was plunged found it face to face with moral decadence and power not united with the people—power indifferent to the country's destinies and steeped in vices and infamy.

"The heroic efforts of the Army, crushed under the cruel

weight of internal disorganization, the appeals of the national representatives, who were united in view of the national danger, were powerless to lead the Emperor and his Government into the path of union with the people. Thus when Russia, through the illegal and sinister acts of her rulers, was confronted with the greatest disasters, the people had to take the power into their own hands.

"With unanimous revolutionary spirit, the people, fully realizing the seriousness of the moment and the firm will of the Duma, established a Provisional Government, which considers it its sacred duty to carry out the national will and lead the country on to the bright path of free civic organization. The Government believes that the lofty spirit of patriotism which the people have shown in the struggle against the old régime will also animate our gallant soldiers on the battlefields.

"In its turn the Government will do its utmost to provide the Army with everything necessary to bring the war to a victorious conclusion. The Government will faithfully observe all alliances uniting us with other powers and all agreements made in the past.

"While taking measures indispensable for the defense of the country against a foreign enemy, the Government will consider it its first duty to grant to the people every facility to express their will concerning the political administration, and will convoke as soon as possible the Constituent Assembly on the basis of universal suffrage, at the same time assuring the gallant defenders of the country their share in the Parliamentary elections.

"The Constituent Assembly will issue fundamental laws, guaranteeing the country the inalienable rights of equality and liberty.

"Conscious of the burden of political oppression which has been hindering the free creative forces of the people during years of painful hardships, the Provisional Government deems it necessary, before the Constituent Assembly, to announce to the country its principles, assuring political liberty and equality to all citizens, enabling them to make free use of their

A detachment of troops at the front taking the oath of loyalty to the Provisional Government.

spiritual forces in creative work for the benefit of the country. The Government will also take care to elaborate the principles assuring all citizens participation in communal elections, which will be carried out on the basis of universal suffrage.

"At the moment of national emancipation, the whole country recalls with pious gratitude those who, in the struggle for their political and religious ideas, fell victims to the vengeance of the old power, and the Provisional Government will joyfully bring back from exile and prison all those who thus suffered for the good of their country.

"In realizing these problems, the Provisional Government believes it is executing the national will and that the whole people will support it in its efforts to insure the happiness of Russia."

Among the many acts which followed these declarations of the Provisional Government, we must mention especially the acts liberating the heretofore oppressed nationalities. On March 21, the Provisional Government issued a Manifesto completely restoring the Finnish Constitution, and on April 13, A. F. Kerensky, then Minister of Justice, personally addressed the Finnish Diet, greeting the free Finnish people in the name of the Provisional Government.

On March 29th the Provisional Government appointed a special Committee, with the prominent Polish leader, A. R. Lednitsky, at the head, to prepare a memorandum for the final solution of the Polish problem. A few weeks later, the Provisional Government expressed its views on this problem in the following Appeal to the Poles:

"Poles, the old political order in Russia, the source of your bondage and ours, and the cause of disunion, has been overthrown forever.

"Liberated Russia, personified in its Provisional Government, vested with the fullness of power, hastens to address to you its fraternal greetings and to call you to the new life of liberty.

"The old order gave you hypocritical promises which it could but would not carry out. The Central Powers have utilized its mistakes to occupy and devastate your country,

and, with the object of fighting against Russia and her Allies, have given you illusory political rights, which are extended, not to all the Polish people, but only to the part of Poland temporarily occupied by the enemy. This is the price for which the Central Powers want to buy the blood of a people who have never fought on the side of despotism. But now no Polish Army is going to fight for the suppression of liberty and the dismemberment of its country under the command of the eternal foe.

"Brother-Poles, for you also the hour for the great decision has struck. Free Russia calls you into the ranks of the fighters for the people's liberty. The Russian people, who have worn the yoke, acknowledge that the fraternal Polish people also have the fullest rights to determine freely their own fate.

"Faithful to the agreement with the Allies and to the common cause against militant Germanism, the Provisional Government considers that the creation of an independent Polish State, the stronghold of all the territories, where the Polish people constitute the majority of the population, will be a certain guaranty of lasting peace in the renovated Europe of the future.

"Attached to Russia by a free military union, the Polish State will be a solid rampart against the pressure brought to bear by the Central Powers on the Slav nations. The Polish people, freed and united, will of itself determine its system of Government by expressing its will through a Constituent Assembly convoked in the ancient Capital of Poland. Through political unity the Polish people will receive a solid guaranty of its civil and national existence.

"The Russian Constituent Assembly will have to sanction the new fraternal union and give its consent to the territorial changes in the Russian State necessary for the formation of a free Poland from all the three parts into which it was cruelly separated.

"Brother-Poles, take the fraternal hand which free Russia holds out to you. Faithful guardians of great traditions, move

forward from now on to the opening of the new and brilliant era of your history, the era of the resurrection of Poland.

"Let the union of our hearts and minds anticipate the future union of our States and let the glorious appeal of ancient days, made by the forerunners of your liberation, re-echo with renewed force.

"Onward in the struggle, side by side, hand in hand, for our liberty and yours!"

Simultaneously with the liberation of Finland and Poland, the Provisional Government stretched out a fraternal hand to the suffering Jewish people in Russia, and with one stroke of the pen repealed all the anti-Jewish laws. The text of this momentous decree follows:

"All existing legal restrictions upon the rights of Russian citizens, based upon faith, religious teaching or nationality, are revoked. In accordance with this, we hereby repeal all laws existing for Russia as a whole, as well as for separate localities, embodying limitations concerning:

1. Selection of place of residence and change of residence.
2. Acquiring rights of ownership and other material rights in all kinds of movable property and real-estate, and likewise in the possession of, the use and the managing of all property, or receiving such for security.
3. Engaging in all kinds of trades, commerce and industry, not excepting mining; also equal participation in the bidding for Government contracts, deliveries and in public auctions.
4. Participation in joint stock and other commercial or industrial companies and partnerships, and also employment in these companies and partnerships in all kinds of positions, either by elections or by employment.
5. Employment of servants, salesmen, foremen, laborers, and trade apprentices.
6. Entering the Government service, civil as well as military, and the grade or condition of such service; participation in the elections for the institutions of local self-government, and all kinds of public institutions; serving in all kinds of positions of Government and public establishments, as well as the prosecution of the duties connected with such positions.

7. Admission to all kinds of educational institutions, whether private, Government or public, and the pursuing of the courses of instruction of these institutions, and receiving scholarships. Also the pursuance of teaching and the other educational professions.

8. Performing the duties of guardians, trustees, or jurors.

9. The use of languages and dialects, other than Russian, in the proceedings of private societies, or in teaching in all kinds of private educational institutions, and in commercial bookkeeping."

The United States was the first country to welcome Russia into the family of free nations. On March 22, the American Ambassador, in Petrograd, David R. Francis, accompanied by his entire Staff, went to the Mariinsky Palace to convey the formal recognition by the United States of the new Russian Government. Addressing the Council of Ministers, Ambassador Francis said:

"I have the honor, as the Ambassador and Representative of the Government of the United States accredited to Russia, to state, in accordance with instructions, that the Government of the United States has recognized the new Government of Russia, and I, as Ambassador of the United States, will be pleased to continue intercourse with Russia through the medium of the new Government.

"May the cordial relations existing between the two countries continue to obtain. May they prove mutually satisfactory and beneficial."

P. N. Miliukov replied for the Provisional Government, saying:

"Permit me, in the name of the Provisional Government, to answer the act of recognition by the United States. You have been able to follow for yourself the events which have established the new order of affairs for free Russia. I have been more than once in your country and may bear witness that the ideals which are represented by the Provisional Government are the same as underlie the existence of your own country. I hope that this great change which has come to

Russia will do much to bring us closer together than we have ever been before.

"I must tell your Excellency that during the last few days I have received many congratulations from prominent men in your country, assuring me that the public opinion of the United States is in sympathy with us. Permit me to thank you. We are proud to be recognized first by a country whose ideals we cherish."

On the following day Great Britain, France and Italy, through their Ambassadors in Petrograd, also extended formal recognition to the new Russian Government.

CHAPTER II

The Economic Program of the Provisional Government

THE previous chapter presents the political program of the first Provisional Cabinet. Its economic program was fully expressed in the address of the Minister of Trade and Industry, A. I. Konovalov, delivered before the Moscow Stock Exchange on April 14, 1917.

This address is valuable not only as an historical document presenting the economic program of the Russian Provisional Government,—it is of more than historical value. While the future stable, democratic Government, which finally will be established in Russia, will probably differ somewhat, in its composition, from the first Provisional Cabinet, and while some of the details of Konovalov's program may be changed, his address delivered before the Moscow Stock Exchange remains, in our opinion, the inevitable program for the future economic development of free Russia.

The Bolsheviki, with their naive political and economic experiments, will disappear as soon as the instinct for self-preservation reasserts itself in Russia, as soon as Russia begins to recover from her grave wounds. Young, full of latent power, she is passing through a period of utmost disorganization known to every country that has passed from tyranny to free democratic development. To-day is the gravest moment in Russia's national history. Anything that happens to-morrow cannot but be an improvement.

With very few exceptions, Russia is further away from Socialism than probably any other country in the world. The Bolshevist demagogues may promise the unfortunate masses, worn out by centuries of oppression and bled by the war, everything they find on the tips of their tongues. As was to be expected, the "Socialism" which the Bolsheviki realized in Russia has resulted in the utmost disorganization of industry, of transportation, of finance, and has created a situation in which entire Provinces are suffering from real, physical hunger.

If we consult about the possibility for immediate Socialism

in Russia, not the Bolshevist demagogues, but the real Russian Socialist leaders, men who have served the interests of the laboring masses for generations, men to whom the tragedy of the unfortunate masses is as their own, men who, preaching Socialism as a scientific theory of economic development, feel the utmost responsibility for every statement they make to the masses,—we would receive a very definite answer. They would say: "Although we believe that Russia, just as every other State on the globe, will eventually come to Socialism, the next inevitable stage in Russia's national life will be a period of capitalistic development." They would also say: "Socialism became a power only since Karl Marx explained the inevitability of capitalistic development for every State, and the historical mission of capitalism, which is the development, through private competition, of the natural resources of every country, the development and concentration of production. Only when a State is highly developed industrially and the production is so concentrated that a small group of private interests practically controls the economic life of the nation, only then can a democratic government step in and replace this small group of interests by its own control. This is the theory of scientific Socialism. That means that a country like Russia, with undeveloped resources, with the masses uneducated, with a proletariat amounting to not more than four per cent. of the entire population, is far, far away from Socialism and must inevitably pass through the stage of capitalistic development, which alone is able to organize the natural resources of the nation, to build up the industries and bring them to the proper stage of efficiency. The hour for a social revolution has not yet struck, and Russia is further from this hour than probably any other country in the world."*

To return to our theme, this leaves Konovalov's address before the Moscow Stock Exchange, even from the Socialist point of view, still a living program for Russia's future economic development. The Bolsheviki will disappear, and

*This would be the answer given us if we were to interview, for instance, the great Russian Socialist, George Plekhanov, an economist, sociologist and philosopher recognized the world over. The above-given lines are only a paraphrase of Plekhanov's argumentation since the Revolution of 1905 up to the present.

the collapse of their power may be as sudden as its rise during and after the November revolt. Transportation will be reestablished, the banks will be reopened, the financial system will recuperate, the management of industries will be placed in the skillful hands of the industrial class, as soon as the nation, coming out of its crisis, will bring into existence a stable, democratic government composed of the best representatives of Russia's mind and statesmanship. We cannot prophesy whether A. I. Konovalov, now imprisoned by the Bolsheviki in the Fortress of St. Peter and Paul, will appear again as the Minister of Trade and Industry,—we would like that he should,—but one thing is almost certain: his successor will have to incorporate in his program many points of Konovalov's address before the Moscow Stock Exchange on April 4, 1917.

Konovalov's Address

"Free citizens of free Russia, permit me to extend my greetings to you.

The fondest aspirations of our people have been realized: the old hateful order has given way under the mighty pressure of the country's wrath, and on its ruins new life has rapidly taken root, and is already beginning to take form. All of us, the entire Russian people, are confronted with the great and sacred task of preserving and guarding the tender flower of liberty from all storms and dangers besetting it, from our midst as well as from without.

We need not be disturbed if the first steps along the road of adapting ourselves to the new conditions of life appear difficult and are accompanied by friction, inevitable with New Russia separated from Old Russia only by a month and a half. All the oppression, all the abuses that were the very foundation of the old regime are still fresh in the memory of the masses; the minds of the people are still in a state of ferment; mental equilibrium and a sober viewpoint of the future of our country, so necessary for placing our social and political life on a sound basis, are still lacking.

In order that we may pass out of this transitory stage as soon as possible, it is necessary for us to concentrate all our thought, all our energy, for the purpose of dealing the final and decisive blow to the foreign foe. At the same time it is necessary to maintain civil peace within the country, to conciliate the different classes, and to subordinate class interests to the general welfare of the State. These are the two fundamental problems which new Russia is now facing, and it is for the purpose of solving them that the

Provisional Government calls upon all to coöperate with the Administration.

A. I. KONOVALOV
Minister of Trade and Industry in the Provisional Government.

Gentlemen, new conditions necessitate the adoption of new viewpoints. The tremendous upheaval that has shaken the economic life of the world to its foundations has caused an unparalleled change in the economic relations in all the belligerent countries. Of this England offers the most striking example, England the country of age-old traditions, where custom and the broadest individualism has always prevailed, the country which has always protected the individual from all claims of the State and whose slogan has been 'the State for the citizens, and not the citizens for the State.' England has, under the influence of the war, abruptly and radically changed her views, views which, it was generally assumed, represented the most typical traits of the English. Prior to the war every Englishman would have protested most vigorously against any attempt on the part of the Government to interfere with the private interests of individuals; now we see those classes which considered any attempt at Government control an abominable violation of their rights, come out for Government control. Under the influence of the world war, under the pressure of economic necessity, the psychology of entire nations change.

The people are compelled to adapt themselves to the new, unprecedented conditions of life. If such an effect was produced on England by the war alone, what can be expected of Russia living through the throes of Revolution together with war? Gentlemen, consider carefully what is now taking place in our country. It will not be an exaggeration to say that we are not only waging a gigantic struggle with the mighty and obstinate foreign foe, for our place in the sun, but that we are going through a radical reconstruction of the entire sytem under which we have been living.

At the front, as well as in the country, the fatal question con-

fronting us is 'to be or not to be.' And at this decisive hour of our national life when the destiny of Russia, and with it our fate as a nation, is being decided, let us recognize the tremendous responsibility which rests upon us. Let us not stop at any sacrifices, let us give our very life, if need be, for our great country, for the sake of her honor, her well-being, her very existence, and the long-sought liberty. The newly created order necessitates a new psychology. We must frankly acknowledge that at the present moment, the fundamental principles, the basic conditions of our economic life are undergoing a most radical change. From out of the deep sufferings of the masses come forth the persistent demands that the Government, together with the wealthy classes, take immediate steps towards satisfying the spiritual and the material needs of the people, which was impossible under the old regime. In this connection, we are informed, false apprehensions and groundless doubts are springing up. Let us trust that in the constructive process which is now being carried on by the people, in the process of reorganizing our State on the new principles proclaimed by the Revolution, an adjustment will be made possible whereby all the just demands will be satisfied, and which will safeguard the civil peace, indispensable for completing the titanic task before Russia. Let us not for a minute doubt but that our statesmen will be able to find a way of bringing about harmony among all these centrifugal forces. The inherent tact and common sense of our great people, which have many times been demonstrated in the course of our national history, of which the present Revolution is the most brilliant illustration, are a sufficient assurance that the people will prove equal to the great task ahead of them.

Confidence and harmony in the relations of the citizens, among themselves and towards the Provisional Government, is the basis upon which the new structure of free Russia will be erected. But the old order has left us a heritage of discord; under its pernicious influence all the sound elements of the country have split up into the minutest factions, differing in their views and tactics and creating an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion. That is wherein the great danger lies, and it is this danger that we must by all means fight, lest the hideous ghost of the past return and stifle the newly born liberty, by kindling the darkest passions and fanning the flames of civil strife. There is only one way to overcome this danger, namely, for the representatives of the various groups and classes to approach one another without distrust, to openly and frankly set forth their views, and after getting mutually acquainted, combine their efforts for the common cause of all Russia.

If this be so, then the class of tradesmen and manufacturers cannot and must not remain isolated. The old regime has seemingly done everything to deliberately destroy and demoralize the trade-industrial

apparatus it took years to build up, as a result of which the usual course of the country's economic life was stopped, and at the same time, through the peculiarly enforced system of regulations, a wide field for all sorts of abuses and speculations was opened. We must frankly acknowledge that from these abuses and speculations a system of oppression grew up which has called forth fully merited reproach, distrust and hostile feelings towards the representatives of the trade-industrial class. It is the duty of the trade-industrial class, in the interests of the State and for the welfare of the population, to openly fight the excess profits emanating from the system of speculation and abuses. Gentlemen, we must root out this poisonous weed of the old regime, no matter at what cost.

At the same time there can be no doubt but that under present circumstances, lacking most of the necessaries of existence, with the factories and mills forced to cut down their production due to lack of raw material and fuel, with the demoralization of the transportation system, and being compelled, despite all these obstacles, to meet the numerous requirements at the front,—there is no other way out but Government control of private industrial and mercantile enterprises, and the coöperation of the democratic masses of the population in the matter of regulating the trade-industrial life of the country. For example, there are already in existence committees, in the cotton, flax, jute, wool and leather industries, the purpose of these committees being to supply the factories and mills with all the necessary raw material, the placing of war orders and, to a certain extent, the distribution of manufactured articles at the front and throughout the country. I am of the opinion that in this direction it is necessary for us to go further. It is not only necessary to reform the existing committees by making them more social in their nature and widening the scope of their activities, but also, in accordance with the requirements of life and the dictates of experience, to create new committees in a number of the most important lines of business. In addition to fair distribution, it should be the task of all the committees, which are to become parts of the Ministry, to also regulate the prices. It is to be expected that the representatives of the various classes of society, entering into similar organizations, and thus assuming their share of responsibility for this or some other solution of questions arising out of our economic life, that they will aid in creating a more intelligent and fair attitude towards the trade-industrial life and those conditions under which it is carried on.

Closely connected with this question there is another one which I personally consider of tremendous importance. I know that it has already arisen and has already met with a sympathetic attitude on your part. I have in mind the question of limiting the profits of all mercantile and industrial establishments. Undoubtedly, a properly

worked-out solution of this question would have the tendency to check the unwarranted growth of prices that would appease the masses. The moral effect of a decree limiting profits is of tremendous importance, not only in that it would soften the feeling of ill-will towards the trade-industrial class, but also because it would afford the Government a new convincing proof that the commercial and industrial class is ready to make all possible sacrifices for the common good, a proof which would paralyze the voicing of any new demands on the part of the masses.

Now, gentlemen, these are the main ideas, the fundamental points of view which the trade-industrial class should consider as a starting point in its efforts to win the confidence of the population, and to safeguard that important position which they ought to occupy in the life of the country. But you no doubt understand that in order to fulfill its historic mission, your class, as any other, must be well organized. Divided, split up into factions, not united in one strong harmonious organization, the commercial and industrial class will be powerless to do its full duty towards the Government.

At this time of tremendous upheaval through which we are passing, at this time when all the foundations of our economic life are shaking, the Government will be able to hold its own against the enemy's blows and reconstruct our national life only if it will be able to secure the support of all our citizens, regardless of classes or groups.

In order to accelerate the process of putting our national life into its normal course, in order to hasten the restoration of our economic forces, in order to effect a close union of all the component parts of our population, so essential for victory, in order to start the important work of shaping the great future of Russia, I call upon the trade-industrial class to organize as soon as possible.

The Ministry of Trade and Industry, in its turn, will give most careful consideration to all the suggestions of the trade-industrial spheres regarding their organization into one self-governing body, bound by unity of aim, and in such a manner as to afford them a properly organized expression of their will. I have in mind the organizing of Chambers of Trade and Industry.

This organization of the commercial class, which is so necessary for the present, is still more important for the future. The economic problems which are waiting to be solved are so tremendously complicated, so extremely difficult, that a proper solution cannot be attained without the coöperation of the organized social forces with the Government.

The task before us consists in working out a plan for the economic structure of new Russia, in laying down the fundamental principles of our national program, concerning our economic life. We must elaborate a plan for organizing our economic life, ascertaining

the main needs of our industrial and commercial life and determining the manner in which these needs shall be satisfied.

As regards the more immediate problems of our economic life, confronting us at home as well as in our relations with foreign countries, they naturally will be determined by the financial and economic heritage which the war will leave us. Disorganization of the country's industrial life, an enormous quantity of paper money and an enormous increase in the country's debts—these are the fundamental factors which will determine the direction of our economic policy, regardless of our desires or preferences.

Our budget after the war will amount to not less than 8-9 billion rubles. It is impossible to cover such a budget by means of increased taxation. The extent of taxation is limited by the country's productivity and its increase is possible only in proportion to the increased value of the total production of the country's industries. Therefore, for the purpose of stimulating domestic industry, special attention should be paid to the putting into practice of a carefully worked out system of customs tariff, which, as the example of all industrial countries so well shows, has always served as a mighty stimulant for the development of all the productive forces which otherwise lie dormant in the country, and has always aided towards a greater development of the natural resources of the country. The plan of a new protective tariff was prepared by the old regime. But the proposed import duties were based on a study of the conditions which prevailed in our industries as well as in foreign industries, before the war. Conditions in industrial life have completely changed during the war. The new era upon which Russia is now entering has accentuated the changes which the present war caused in our economic life. Hence it is necessary to revise the proposed tariff without delay, for the purpose of adapting it to the altered conditions of our industrial life and to modify it in conformity with the depreciation of our money. It goes without saying that the Ministry of Trade and Industry will consider it its duty to secure the coöperation of the representatives of all groups whose interests are involved in this plan, namely, the trade-industrial class and the working people, as well as the representatives of the scientific world and of the public at large.

In the domain of our foreign policy, with regard to our economic life, the heritage of the war will, during the first years, consist of a markedly negative trade balance. Our foreign debts, which have greatly increased, can only to a small extent be counterbalanced by the export of grain, which has now considerably decreased, if not ceased altogether.

The situation is becoming all the more difficult because of the ever increasing famine due to the shortage of means of production, as well as of all the necessaries of life; this famine will be felt very

acutely not only on account of the lack of these goods, but also because of the overabundance of paper money. Uncontrolled commerce, with a tendency for acquisition of property abroad, which is prone to develop under such circumstances, if left to private enterprise, must lead to the further depreciation of the ruble. As a result, our newly restored industries, our transportation and agriculture, which require a large import of metals, lathes, machinery, rails and assembled parts, and which at the same time demand the safeguards of a cheap rate of exchange, may be placed in a most embarrassing position. Government control over these matters demands that a specified number of basic articles of import be excluded from the list of articles which private firms will be allowed to import, such restrictions being determined by a study of the requirements of the public. Government control would also imply the centralization of all purchasing. Only under such conditions will it be possible for us to meet our obligations, which do not fall due until such time when our home industries will come into their own and when a normal balance in our favor will enable us to satisfy our need for foreign gold.

In addition to this, the present situation naturally demands every measure towards restoring the trade which can be gained, stimulating the growth of export and creating conditions conducive to the influx of foreign capital.

The influx of foreign capital performs a two-fold function: besides restoring the balance, it is absolutely necessary for the development of the productive forces of the country. The Ministry of Trade and Industry expects the influx of capital not only from England and France, our old friends, but also from the United States, where an enormous quantity of gold has been amassed during the war and where a mighty movement for an American-Russian rapprochement has arisen and become especially marked since the United States' entrance into the war. The Ministry, in its turn, will lend every support to the closest possible rapprochement between the two greatest democracies in the world.

The widening of our relations necessitates the construction of a Russian merchant marine. Even prior to the war, about two-thirds of our foreign trade was overseas trade. After the war, the increased trade with the Allies will make the overseas commerce the dominant part of our entire trade. The negligible part, only 10 per cent., which the Russian merchant marine has controlled, can no longer be tolerated. Besides the overcharges in freight which is paid for in foreign money, such a state of affairs deprives Russia of her independence in her foreign trade policy. That is why the building up of a powerful merchant marine is one of our immediate problems. The Ministry has already organized a special committee on marine transportation. This has been divided up into sub-committees, which are

at present busily engaged preparing bills which, if taken together, are to form the basis for the immediate development of our merchant fleet. The first step to be taken is the creation of a series of general juridical measures which would do away with the handicaps and defects of the old legislation, such as the regulations dealing with the registration of ships, the limited responsibility of the ship-owners, etc. Then will follow a series of measures tending to encourage the ship-building industry in Russia and the increase of the merchant fleet, measures which are already hurriedly being prepared, such as the bills regulating the working conditions of the merchant marine crews.

Serious work is also required in connection with the ports. Some of it has already been undertaken by the Ministry. The new conditions have necessitated a number of tentative measures, such as (1) The organization of the administration of the ports. (2) Regulation of working conditions of port laborers. The port administration has been enlarged through the admission into its ranks of representatives of the public, the manufacturers and the workers. Courts of Arbitration have been established and the measures are accompanied by a revision of the very foundations of the ports' administration, on the basis of the widest autonomy and self-government. At the same time the question of better equipment of the ports through the widest possible coöperation of private initiative is taken up. Finally, in our endeavors to facilitate foreign trade and secure our independence from the world's distributing centres,—such as Hamburg, Bremen and others,—the question of 'free ports' has been raised, a project which it is understood is to be carried out with the greatest care, in the interests of our home industries. Many of the measures which have been suggested are already being drawn up and we trust that in the very near future they will become laws.

The imperative demand for the development of our industries has compelled our Ministry of Trade and Industry to start searching for new sources of wealth in the country, for the purpose of developing them at the earliest possible moment. In this connection, the Ministry has in the first place turned to the undeveloped riches of the North. Our Ministry has appointed a special committee for the purpose of studying the natural resources of our Northern Provinces, in order to develop their economic life in general, and above all to increase our lumber export.

Then, it is needless to prove to you what part electric power plays in the development of production. Until the present time, the utilization of electricity has not received due consideration, and this despite the fact that Russia is so very rich in peat, in mighty sources of water power, and despite the high price of fuel,—all these grounds which should have prompted us to obtain heat and power by utilizing the natural resources of the country. This has, however, been pre-

vented by the obsolete legislation and narrow-minded policies of the old Government. The Ministry of Trade and Industry regards it as one of its tasks to energetically push this matter forward by focusing its attention on legislation touching upon the development and the application of electricity to our industries. This week a Conference devoted to electric problems will begin its work. This Conference will be composed of representatives of various public bodies, of manufacturers and scientists. It will work out a constitution for the Department of Electricity, which is being created, and it will discuss a series of bills regulating the production of electricity from coal, peat and waterfalls, the transmission of this energy and its consumption. The Conference will also outline the general principles of management of all matters pertaining to electricity.

Problems of tremendous importance are also confronting us in the Department of Education. Technical and professional training of the elementary and of the higher type, coupled with a fair general education of a live, practical nature, will form the foundation of the future productive activities of our people. In the very near future, conferences and congresses of people active in the educational world will be called, and the general project of the legislation regarding commercial, technical and professional training will be submitted to them for consideration. The number of professional schools of all types is already becoming considerably large. Our new freedom, stimulating the people, in general, will call into being a new stream of initiative in the domain of pedagogy. As regards the universities and colleges, the Ministry of Trade and Industry is, above all, worried by the abnormal situation which finds expression in the prolonged years of attendance and the small number of graduates. The fundamental problems confronting the Ministry in this connection are as follows: to increase the number of engineers and persons with business training, by shortening the time required for their training, and so to offer to the country a sufficient contingent of young, energetic, not overworked forces. Besides regulating the curriculum and the methods of instruction, these problems, due to the lack of means from which some of our students suffer, are bound up with the arranging for a special 'students' credit.' Of the measures already put into practice by the Ministry, I wish to point out the accomplished decentralization in matters of high school administration, the eradication of a series of chronic abnormalities with which the life of the universities was affected, the regulation of the material situation of the teaching personnel, and also the putting into practice in school life of the principles of equality and liberty, the principles which form the basis of the program of the Provisional Government.

For the new regime more perfect trade-industrial legislation is required, not only based on the modern principles now effective in

the most advanced countries, but also of such a nature as would bring the entire economic life of the country to more favorable conditions conducive to proper development. Here, above all, the Ministry of Trade and Industry considers it absolutely necessary, on the one hand, to free trade-industrial activity from the economic and political fetters of the old regime, and, on the other hand, to inject new wholesome elements into the productive life of the country. And you, gentlemen, know that the reform legislation dealing with corporations and joint stock companies is already an accomplished fact. One of the first recommendations which I, as head of the Ministry of Trade and Industry, have submitted to the Provisional Government was that regarding the abolition of all those restrictions upon joint-stock companies, by means of which the old regime was stifling all individual initiative, in its attempt to utilize the laws which should have been used for the development of the country's productive forces, as a tool for the fanning of religious and racial hatred.

At present further steps are being taken to simplify and accelerate the creation of joint-stock companies. For this purpose, independent of the bill regulating the formation of joint-stock companies and corporations, there are being prepared a series of model constitutions for various types of corporations and for entering into partnership. At the same time, the Ministry, following the policy of harmonizing the interests of capital and labor, is taking up the matter of allowing the formation of joint-stock companies in which the laborers and other employees would be stockholders. In the interests of small enterprises, the Ministry deems it its duty to consider the matter of legalizing companies with a changeable membership and capital, a form which would serve for the consolidation of small merchants for purchasing operations.

Striving to place domestic trade in more favorable conditions and on the sound basis which is exceedingly important for securing our credit, the Ministry will, in the very near future, pass legislation, already prepared, dealing with the registration of business people and firms; with bookkeeping, and also with the administration of commercial and industrial houses.

Among other measures awaiting their turn to be put into effect are: the radical reform of the stock exchange, laws regulating the consolidation of commercial and industrial enterprises, the encouragement of coöperatives, the revision of legislation regarding artisans, etc.

While outlining briefly the most important problems with which the Ministry of Trade and Industry is confronted, as well as the work already begun in connection with these problems, I must call your attention to the labor problem. Labor is the foundation of a nation's riches, and it is therefore necessary to do everything pos-

sible to place it in a position conducive to its normal development. The Provisional Government considers this question as one of vital importance. The Government thinks it its duty to secure the civil peace so necessary for the country, by means of a wide program of social reforms. The Government firmly believes that its social policy will receive the staunch support of all classes of the population. It is being proposed to organize, in the very near future, an independent Department of Labor, under the guidance of a person enjoying the fullest and unconditional confidence of the working class. The participation of a recognized leader of the laboring masses in the work of the Provisional Government would be the best guaranty of success in the complicated and responsible work of social legislation, now before us.

Until such time as the Department of Labor is created, all immediate labor legislation is being taken care of by a special Department of the Ministry of Trade and Industry, which Department I organized hurriedly upon entering into office.

Taking into consideration the most vital needs of the present moment, the Department of Labor regards the quickest possible organization of the working people as its chief problem. With this purpose in view, the Department of Labor has already worked out a number of bills regarding labor unions, and these will be submitted to the Provisional Government in the very near future.

A special committee is investigating the question regarding the length of the working day, in connection with the demand of the working class for the immediate passage of an eight-hour law. This question has in the past held the exclusive attention of the general public. At present, the acute character of the question has to a certain extent been lost. On the one hand, it has become apparent that the leading industries do not object to the eight-hour day as a matter of principle, and merely insist upon solving this question in accordance with the conditions of production and distribution in the foreign and in the domestic market. On the other hand, the working people, recognizing the needs of the Government, have renounced the actual enforcement of the eight-hour day in all enterprises engaged in munitions work, an enforcement which, if insisted upon, would prove highly detrimental to the State. There is no doubt but that the immediate and careful study of this question by the Department of Labor, with the workers and the manufacturers equally represented, will enable them to arrive at a solution most satisfactory to both sides. In addition, the Department of Labor has begun work on legislation for Courts of Arbitration, has finished the project of a bill regarding the organization of representative committees in the mills and factories, and is at present preparing a bill creating a system of employment agencies. In this connection, the Department of Labor is calling a special conference in May, for the purpose of coördinating

the work of the various public organizations in this sphere. The laws regulating contracts between employer and employee will be revised at the earliest opportunity. The work will be started by stretching the insurance laws to cover new categories of workers, and the working out of a bill for insurance against vocational diseases. By the time the Constituent Assembly is convoked, the Department of Labor proposes to have prepared the necessary material for the passage of an insurance bill covering old age and accident.

Together with all this, regulations will be worked out safeguarding the interests of employees of commercial establishments, and the application of Government protection to artisans and craftsmen.

All these problems will be worked out with the coöperation of representatives of the groups concerned. They will be called upon to discuss the questions and to agree upon a compromise, which, while satisfying to a certain extent the interests of both parties, will at the same time meet the requirements of law and justice which now form the basis for the solution of all our national problems. They will be called upon to find a solution that will safeguard the development of the productive forces of the country, and at the same time aid the country in securing her place as an economic power among other States.

Gentlemen, you can clearly see from the brief outline which I have given you, how enormous and how varied are the problems which the Ministry of Trade and Industry is called upon to solve upon starting on the new path of its activities in behalf of free Russia.

We are confronted with a tremendous task. And this task, which would have been utterly impossible under the old regime, must and will now be accomplished. The fiery enthusiasm which is sweeping the country, inspired by the newly-won liberty, is a guaranty that this will be done. Another guaranty is the consciousness that the fate of our Fatherland is in our hands, that we are the masters of our own happiness:

For fear that I may tire you with my long speech, I do not consider it possible to discuss the fuel and metal situation. I trust I shall have an opportunity to do so in the very near future. I shall therefore pass over to the other problems which the Ministry must solve.

To proceed, the Ministry considers it most important to regulate and develop our mining industry. This department of our national life requires some radical reforms. The mining industry must be raised to the level necessitated by its exclusive importance in the economic life of the country, and by its importance in connection with the country's defense. The guiding principle in our policy towards the mining industry will be the desire to develop it, not only in order to satisfy the country's demands, but also to enable us to export those products of which there is an abundance in our country.

The Department of Mining Industries was, under the old regime, even more than any other Department, guilty of the sin of having neglected the greatest problem of the present time—the problem of developing the country's resources.

At present new elements have been called upon to participate in the management of the mining industry, and a plan of work for the immediate future is prepared. This plan covers all the fundamental branches of the mining industry, beginning with fuel, black, red and white metals, gold and platinum, and ending with chemical substances and mineral waters. The most important measures for the development of the mining industry which will be applied in the immediate future, will be the enactment of legislation separating the rights of ownership of the earth's surface from the right to the deposits underground, the nationalization of the underground riches, an estimate of all resources on the basis of data available at the present moment, also the valuation of these resources in their present condition, and a systematic geological and technical survey of the country's territory for the purpose of studying the mineral resources.

All problems pertaining to the mining industry, it is planned to concentrate in one institution—the Main Mining Department, on the principle of possible decentralization, with increased powers granted to the local administration and with the coöperation of the public and the manufacturers.

In conclusion, I wish to call your attention to the preliminary work of the Department, in connection with the measures necessary for facilitating the restoration of our industries from the war basis to normal conditions.

The main question relating to this phase of our activities, which constitutes one of the most immediate problems now before the Ministry, is the working out of a definite plan by which orders may be placed by the various Departments, for wares needed immediately upon the termination of the war. In view of the extreme difficulty of the problem and the tremendous influence which its correct solution would have upon the entire course of our economic life, the Ministry is forming a special committee to be in charge of all problems connected with the placing of orders, the centralization of all purchasing of raw materials, manufactured goods and machinery from abroad for our industrial needs. In addition, special attention will have to be devoted to the question of preserving, during the transitional period immediately after the war, those centers which have been supplying industrial establishments with fuel and raw material, as well as those in charge of the organized sale of our domestic raw materials and manufactures to the foreign markets. Finally, we have the problem of the demobilization of labor and the return to the factories and mills of those who were called to the colors and

who did their duty for the defense of the Fatherland on the field of battle.

Such are our activities, such are our plans—these are the fundamental principles governing our conduct in regard to the most important questions of the moment.

Gentlemen, you know that the Provisional Government derives its strength from the support of the public. As the Chief of the Ministry of Trade and Industry, I ardently appeal to you for coöperation in our difficult and responsible work. I have pointed out to you the basic problems of our economic life, and ask you to participate in the solving of these, and furthermore, I ask you to secure the coöperation of those who through their knowledge and experience are in a position to facilitate the work, so that they may enter into the closest possible contact with the Ministry. Only by laboring together will we be enabled to speedily and correctly solve all the most important problems of the day, these problems upon which depends the restoration of Russia's industrial power.

Point out any new problems which must be taken up by us. Inform the Ministry of all the petty problems of the current economic life, the needs and wants which you, men of experience and practical life, want satisfied. Such close coöperation would insure the success of the Ministry's work. Only under such conditions do I consider it possible to shoulder the responsibility which my office places upon me.

I greet you, active workers in the process of reconstructing New Russia, together with the other stable elements of the nation called upon to create her might and glory. I believe that the fiery enthusiasm which inspires all of you will serve as an inexhaustible source of energy, so necessary for the responsible work now before us.

Gentlemen, our thought is free, free are our actions, and our love for our great country is infinite. What sacrifices would we not make in the name of the people's happiness and the country's glory!

To her, to our free and glorious country, to our great people, we devote all our strength, all our understanding, nay, our very lives.

Long live free Russia!"

CHAPTER III

The First Crisis—The Resignation of A. I. Guchkov and P. N. Miliukov

THE honeymoon of the Russian Revolution was a brief one. On May first, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, P. N. Miliukov, instructed the Russian diplomats in the Allied countries to transmit the following communication, which brought about a breach between the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, and finally resulted in Miliukov's resignation:

"The Provisional Government of Russia, on April 27, published a Manifesto to Russian citizens wherein it explained the views of the Government of Russia as regards the objects to be attained in the war. The Minister of Foreign Affairs instructs me to communicate to you the contents of the document referred to and to add the following considerations:

"Our enemies have striven lately to sow discord among our Allies by propagating absurd reports regarding the alleged intention of Russia to conclude a separate peace with the Central Powers. The text of the document annexed will form the best refutation of such intentions. The general principles therein enunciated by the Provisional Government are in entire agreement with the ideas which have been expressed repeatedly up to quite recently by eminent statesmen of the Allied countries.

"These principles were expressed lucidly also in the words of the President of our Ally, the great Republic overseas. The Russian Government, under the old regime, certainly was not prepared to appreciate and share these ideas as to the liberating character of the war, the establishment of a stable basis for pacific coöperation of nations, the freedom of oppressed peoples, etc., but emancipated Russia can now use language which will be understood by modern democracies and hasten to add her voice to that of her Allies.

"The declaration of the Provisional Government, imbued with the new spirit of free democracy, naturally cannot afford the least pretext for assumption that the demolition of the old structure has entailed any slackening on the part of Russia in the common struggle of all the Allies. On the contrary, the nation's determination to bring the world war to a decisive victory has been accentuated, owing to the sense of responsibility which is shared by all in common and each one of us in particular.

"This spirit has become still more active by the fact that it is concentrated on the immediate task, which touches everybody so closely, of driving back the enemy who invaded our territory. It is understood, and the annexed document so expressly states, that the Provisional Government, in safeguarding the right acquired for our country, will maintain a strict regard for its agreements with the Allies of Russia.

"Firmly convinced of the victorious issue of the present war, and in perfect agreement with our Allies, the Provisional Government is likewise confident that the problems which were created by this war will be solved by concluding a lasting peace, and that, inspired by identical sentiments, the Allied Democracies will find means of establishing the guaranties and penalties necessary to prevent any recourse to sanguinary war in the future."

Immediately after the publication of this document, a number of demonstrations, hostile to Miliukov, took place. On May fourth, however, the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates passed a vote of confidence in the Provisional Government. The resolution of confidence was adopted by a narrow margin of 35 in a total of about 2,500 votes. In making public this resolution, the Council declared that it had received, from the Government, the following explanation of the note to the Allies:

"The note was subjected to long and detailed examination by the Provisional Government, and was unanimously approved. This note, in speaking of a decisive victory, had in view a solution of the problems mentioned in the communication of April 9 and which was thus specified:

'The Government deems it to be its right and duty to declare now that free Russia does not aim at the domination of other nations or at depriving them of their national patrimony, or at occupying by force foreign territories, but that its object is to establish a durable peace on the basis of the rights of nations to decide their own destiny.

'The Russian Nation does not lust after the strengthening of its power abroad at the expense of other nations. Its aim is not to subjugate or humiliate any one. In the name of the higher principles of equity, the Russian people have broken the chains which fettered the Polish Nation, but it will not suffer that its own country shall emerge from the great struggle humiliated or weakened in its vital forces.

'In referring to the "penalties and guaranties" essential to a durable peace the Provisional Government had in view the reduction of armaments, the establishment of international tribunals, etc.'

"This explanation will be communicated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassadors of the Allied Powers."

This patched-up peace certainly could not last very long. The resignation of Miliukov and Guchkov was inevitable with the growth of power of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, which, possessing an enormous influence over the masses in Petrograd, soon developed to a position where it could really impose its will upon the Provisional Government. Finally A. I. Guchkov resigned on May 13, and this was followed by Miliukov's resignation, on May 16. At this very time, important meetings of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates were being held, and by reviewing the most important moments at these sessions we will best comprehend the nature of the political power which brought about the resignation of these two Ministers.

CHAPTER IV

The Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates and its Relation to the War

IN opening the session of the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, on May 14th, the President of the Council, N. S. Tscheidze, the former leader of the Social Democratic faction in the Duma, declared:

"The Executive Committee of the Council has decided once more to send an appeal to the nations of the world, explaining the war aims of the Russian Democracy. This appeal has for its purpose the pitting of the voice of democracy against the voice of those who want to end the war on their own basis.

"For the purpose of concluding peace, the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates has decided to call an international Socialist conference. But as long as the war continues it is necessary to take all measures so that our front should not yield and the soldiers with guns in their hands not falter.

"The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates has decided to send an appeal to the soldiers at the front, and to explain to them that in order to bring about universal peace it is necessary to defend the Revolution and Russia by defending the front."

M. I. Skobelev, a former member of the Duma and later Secretary of Labor in the Provisional Government, speaking in the name of the Executive Committee of the Council, said:

"The Russian Revolution is not only of national significance, but also of international import, as you stated when you sent your appeal to the nations of the world. The national significance of the Russian Revolution has already been manifested, but her international importance has not been established as yet. The overthrow of the Tzar is not only of national, but also of great international consequence, for we have thrown off the yoke of the international gendarme. At the same time we have started a campaign for Socialism.

We have not solved the second problem. All the oppressed are looking up to us, waiting to be freed from the agony of war. But this liberation is impossible without revolutionary armies in the other countries. Therefore, the Russian Revolution can rightfully

state to the whole world that the solution of the second problem is beyond her powers and that the Revolution itself is in danger of being crushed by International Imperialism. Also that all those who present claims to the Russian Revolution must not forget their duties towards her.

The Russian Revolution, in setting out to solve international problems, must declare that she is capable not only of defending herself, but also of attacking. The Russian Revolution must state that the army of Wilhelm cannot be used against Russia's freedom. If we make secure our power at home, then we have a right to speak to our foreign comrades. We have declared that we want peace. but not behind the backs of our English and French comrades. We must categorically declare ourselves opposed to a separate peace and fraternization. We are for a peace expressing the unanimous will of the Russian revolutionary people. Democratic France is being menaced by Germany. The German army, if it crushes the French and English, will throw itself upon us. If revolutionary German regiments should come to our front, we would fraternize with them, but until then the fighting power of the Russian Army must bear testimony to the fact that we are always ready to shed our blood in defense of our country. We offer to immediately begin peace negotiations, at an international Socialist conference, with our German fellow-workers and the Socialists of the other countries."

In conclusion, M. I. Skobelev suggested that the resolution of the Executive Committee, to call an international Socialist conference, be adopted, and also that appeals be addressed to Socialists of all countries. The appeals follow:

To the Socialists of All Countries

"The Russian Revolution was born in the flame of the world war. This war is a monstrous crime on the part of the imperialists of all the countries, who, by their lust for annexations, by their mad race of armaments, have made inevitable and precipitated the world conflagration.

Whatever the vicissitudes of military fortune are, the imperialists of all countries are equally the victors in this war; the war has yielded and is yielding them fabulous profits, concentrates in their hands colossal capital and endows them with unheard-of power over the person, labor and the very life of the toilers.

And just because of this, the toilers of all the countries are equally defeated in this war. On the altar of imperialism they sacrifice their lives, their health, their liberty, their property; on their shoulders fall unheard-of burdens.

The Russian Revolution, the Revolution of the toilers, workingmen and soldiers, is not only a revolt against Tzardom, but also against the horrors of the world war. It is the first outcry of in-

dignation of one of the detachments of the international army of labor against the crimes of international imperialism. It is not only a national Revolution,—it is the first advance of the world revolution, which will end the baseness of war and will bring peace to mankind.

The Russian Revolution, from the very moment of her birth, clearly realized the international problem that confronts her. Her powerful organ—The Petrograd Council of Soldiers' and Workmen's Delegates—in its appeal of the 14th of March, called upon the peoples of the whole world to unite for the struggle for peace. The Russian Revolutionary Democracy does not want a separate peace, which would free the hands of the Austro-German Alliance.

The Revolutionary Democracy of Russia knows that such a peace will be a betrayal of the cause of the workers' democracy of all countries, which will find itself tied hand and foot, impotent before the world of triumphant imperialism. It knows that such a peace might lead to the military destruction of other countries and thus strengthen the triumph of the ideas of chauvinism and revenge in Europe, leaving her an armed camp, just as after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, and thus inevitably precipitating a new bloody conflict in the near future.

The Russian Revolutionary Democracy desires a general peace on a basis acceptable to the workers of all countries, who are against any annexations, who do not stand for robberies, who are equally interested in the free expression of the will of all nations and the crushing of the power of international imperialism. Peace without annexations or indemnities on the basis of the self-definition of all nationalities is the formula conceived, in good faith, by the proletariat. It furnishes a platform on which the toiling masses of all the countries—belligerent and neutral—could and should come to an understanding, in order to establish a lasting peace and with concerted effort heal the wounds caused by the bloody war.

The Provisional Government of Revolutionary Russia has adopted this platform."

To the Allies.

"The Russian Revolutionary Democracy appeals first to you, Socialists of the Allied countries. You must not permit the voice of the Provisional Government of Russia to remain without a response from the Powers of the Entente.

You must force your Governments to state definitely and clearly that the platform of peace without annexations or indemnities, on the basis of self-definition of nationalities, is also their platform. You will give our revolutionary Army, that has inscribed on its banner 'Peace among nations,' the assurance that its blood-sacrifices will not be used for evil purposes. You will enable it to carry out, with all the fervor of revolutionary enthusiasm, the war tasks that

are falling to its lot. You will strengthen the faith of the Army if you enable it to realize that while defending the conquests of the Revolution and our freedom, it is at the same time fighting for the interests of International Democracy. Thus you will hasten the coming of the desired peace.

You will put the Governments of the enemy countries in such a position that they will be forced either to irrevocably repudiate their policy of annexation, robbery and violence, or else openly confess their criminal projects, thus bringing upon themselves the full and just indignation of their peoples."

To Austro-Germans.

"The Russian Revolutionary Democracy appeals to you, Socialists of the Austro-German Alliance: You will not allow the Armies of your Governments to become the executioners of Russian liberty. You will not permit the Governments of your countries to utilize to their advantage the lofty spirit of liberty and fraternity with which the Russian Revolutionary Army is imbued. You will not allow them to use this spirit to move their troops to the West, in order to crush France first and Russia later. If you do, you yourselves and the International Proletariat will be crushed under the weight of universal Imperialism."

To Neutrals.

"The Russian Revolutionary Democracy appeals to the Socialists of the belligerent and neutral countries and urges them to prevent the triumph of Imperialism. Let the movement for peace, started by the Russian Revolution, be brought to a conclusion by the International Proletariat.

In order to unite the workers of the world, the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates has decided to issue a call for an international conference of all the Socialist parties and factions in every country. Whatever the differences of opinion which have disrupted Socialism for a period of three years of war may be, not a single faction of the Proletariat should refuse to participate in a common fight for peace, according to the terms dictated by Russia.

We believe, comrades, that all Socialistic factions will be represented at this conference. A unanimous decision by the International Proletariat will be the first victory of the toilers over the internationalism of the Imperialists.

"Workingmen of the world, unite!"

The appeals were unanimously adopted, with the Bolsheviki refraining from voting. I. G. Tseretelli, the former leader of the Social-Democratic Faction in the Second Duma and later Minister of Post and Telegraph and still later Minister

of Interior in Kerensky's Cabinet, proposed an appeal to the Army, which he explained in the following speech:

"Comrades, the question of an appeal to the Army is connected directly with the one already accepted by us, and which is addressed to the nations of the world. The appeal to the Army has already been mentioned in the debates. The struggle for peace can be carried on only by revolutionary power; the power of the Revolution will be the determining factor in the struggle for peace. If at the present moment our front should be broken, it would mean the crushing of the whole Russian Revolution. The possibility for calling an International Socialist Conference would be destroyed together with the Russian Revolution.

Do you understand, comrades, what an impression our appeal would make on the nations, if our front were broken? They would say: 'We see what an end Russia's example has brought.' To follow the example of the Russian Revolution will result in the ruin of the means of defending our country.' Thus we would turn all nations away from the revolutionary path.

The entire democracy, within the country and at the front, must be made to realize that the Russian Revolution is powerful only while the country's position remains powerful. The last delegations from the front have informed the Executive Committee that the situation at the front is critical. Ignorance of the situation in the interior of the country is creating a spirit of unrest among the soldiers at the front. They know not for what reasons we call upon them to fight.

Already, at the All-Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, we were told that the soldiers understand defense as the only possible strategy, and do not leave the trenches, believing that advance means the support of imperialism. But not by strategy is the character of the war determined. The soldiers do not understand this and are endangering themselves by refusing to advance.

Our struggle for peace was also incorrectly interpreted. They think that the struggle for peace and the conclusion of peace are not the same thing. It is not possible to make peace at the front. Fraternization has become a constant phenomenon. A revolutionary army cannot fraternize with an army dominated by the iron fist of imperialism. Such fraternization must not take place.

Germany, with rapid strides, has concentrated all her strength on the Western front. We must prevent the future transfer of troops and the destruction of the French Army. This is our duty! We cannot go forward to a separate peace. If this is so, we must not give France and England the impression that we will conclude a separate peace. We must tread the path of the road agreed upon, and conducting the fight for peace, strengthen our front.

Our appeal to the Army explains the situation. We find that lack of understanding may prove ruinous. Issuing the appeal is, of course, not all that we must do. Other measures are also necessary. But since we are not everywhere understood, it is necessary to explain everything again in order that there may be no misunderstanding."

Tseretelli then read the following Appeal to the Army:

"Comrades—soldiers at the front, in the name of the Revolutionary Democracy we make a fervent appeal to you.

A hard task has fallen to your lot. You have paid a dear price, you have paid with your blood, a dear price indeed, for the crimes of the Tzar who sent you to fight and left you without arms, without ammunition, without bread!

Why, the privation you now suffer is the work of the Tzar and his coterie of self-seeking associates who brought the country to ruin. And the Revolution will need the efforts of many to overcome the disorganization left her as a heritage by those robbers and executioners.

The working class did not need the war. The workers did not begin it. It was started by the Tzars and capitalists of all countries. Each day of war is for the people only a day of unnecessary suffering and misfortune. Having dethroned the Tzar, the Russian people have selected for their first problem the ending of the war in the quickest possible manner.

The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates has appealed to all nations to end the butchery. We have appealed to the French and the English, to the Germans and the Austrians. Russia wants an answer to this appeal.

Remember, however, comrades and soldiers, that our appeal will be of no value if the regiments of Wilhelm overpower Revolutionary Russia before our brothers, the workers and peasants of other countries, will be able to respond. Our appeal will become 'a scrap of paper' if the whole strength of the revolutionary people does not stand behind it, if the triumph of Wilhelm Hohenzollern will be established on the ruins of Russian freedom. The ruin of free Russia will be a tremendous, irreparable misfortune, not only for us, but for the toilers of the whole world.

Comrades, soldiers, defend Revolutionary Russia with all your might!

The workers and peasants of Russia desire peace with all their soul. But this peace must be universal, a peace for all nations based on the agreements of all.

What would happen if we should agree to a separate peace—a peace for ourselves alone! What would happen if the Russian soldiers were to stick their bayonets into the ground to-day and say that

they do not care to fight any longer, that it makes no difference to them what happens to the whole world!

Here is what would happen. Having destroyed our Allies in the West, German Imperialism would rush in upon us with all the force of its arms. Germany's imperialists, her landowners and capitalists would put an iron heel on our necks, would occupy our cities, our villages and our land, and would force us to pay tribute to her. Was it to bow down at the feet of Wilhelm that we overthrew Nicholas?

Comrades—soldiers! The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates leads you to peace by another route. We lead you to peace by calling upon the workers and peasants of Serbia and Austria to rise and revolt; we lead you to peace by forcing our Government to repudiate the policy of annexation and by demanding a similar repudiation from the Allied Powers. We lead you to peace by calling an International conference of Socialists for a universal and determined revolt against war There is a great necessity, comrades—soldiers, for the peoples of the world to awaken. Time is needed in order that they should rebel and with an iron hand force their tzars and capitalists to peace. Time is needed so that the toilers of all lands should join with us for a merciless war upon violators and robbers.

But remember, comrades—soldiers, this time will never come if you do not stop the advance of the enemy at the front, if your ranks are crushed and under the feet of Wilhelm falls the breathless corpse of the Russian Revolution.

Remember, comrades, that at the front, in the trenches, you are now standing in defense of Russia's freedom. You defend the Revolution, you defend your brothers, the workers and peasants. Let this defense be worthy of the great cause and the great sacrifices already made by you. It is impossible to defend the front, if, as has been decided, the soldiers are not to leave the trenches under any circumstances. At times only an attack can repulse and prevent the advance of the enemy. At times awaiting an attack means patiently waiting for death. Again, only the change to an advance may save you or your brothers, on other sections of the front, from destruction.

Remember this, comrades—soldiers! Having sworn to defend Russian freedom, do not refuse to start the offensive the military situation may require. The freedom and happiness of Russia are in your hands.

In defending this freedom be on the lookout for betrayal and trickery. The fraternization which is developing on the front can easily turn into such a trap.

Revolutionary armies may fraternize; but with whom? With an army also revolutionary, which has decided to die for peace and freedom. At present, however, not only in the German Army, but

even in the Austro-Hungarian Army, in spite of the number of individuals politically conscious and honest, there is no revolution. In those countries the armies are still blindly following Wilhelm and Charles, the landowners and capitalists, and agree to annexation of foreign soil, to robberies and violence. There the General Staff will make use not only of your credulity, but also of the blind obedience of their soldiers.

You go out to fraternize with open hearts. And to meet you an officer of the General Staff leaves the enemies' trenches, disguised as a common soldier. You speak with the enemy without any trickery. At that very time he photographs the surrounding territory. You stop the shooting to fraternize, but behind the enemies' trenches, artillery is being moved, new positions built and troops transferred.

Comrades—soldiers, not by fraternization will you get peace, not by separate agreements made at the front by single companies, battalions or regiments. Not in separate peace or in a separate truce lies the salvation of the Russian Revolution, the triumph of peace for the whole world.

The people who assure you that fraternization is the road to peace lead you to destruction. Do not believe them. The road to peace is a different one. It has been pointed out to you already by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates; tread it. Sweep aside everything that weakens your fighting power, that brings into the Army disorganization and loss of spirit.

Your fighting power serves the cause of peace. The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates is able to continue its revolutionary work with all its might, to develop its struggle for peace, only by depending upon you, knowing that you will not allow the military destruction of Russia.

Comrades—soldiers, the workers and peasants, not only of Russia, but of the whole world look to you with confidence and hope.

Soldiers of the Revolution, you will prove worthy of this faith, for you know that your military tasks serve the cause of peace.

In the name of the happiness and freedom of Revolutionary Russia, in the name of the coming brotherhood of nations, you will fulfil your military duties with unconquerable strength."

This appeal was also adopted unanimously, with the Bolsheviki refraining from voting.

CHAPTER V

The Convention of Delegates from the Front

THE previous chapter presents the ideology of the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates in its relation to the problems of war and peace. It must be stated that at that time the Bolsheviki represented only a small minority of the Council, the majority being led by such anti-Bolsheviki Socialist leaders as Tscheidze, Skobelev and Tseretelli. Under their leadership, the Council at that time really expressed the thoughts and feelings of the Petrograd proletariat and with it of the workingmen all over Russia.

There was another political factor coming to the fore at that time, a factor which soon began to play almost a decisive role in Russia's fate. This was the Army, which, under the old regime, had been deprived of every political right and now, with the liberation of Russia, was called to participate in the country's political life. From this point of view the first Convention of the Delegates from the Front, which opened in Petrograd on the 10th of May, is of special interest.

Of the many speeches made at this Convention, the two speeches of A. I. Guchkov,—the second delivered after his resignation,—and the speeches by A. F. Kerensky, I. G. Tseretelli, G. V. Plekhanov and by the representative of the Black Sea Fleet, Sailor Batkin, were of special importance. A. I. Guchkov addressed the Convention, on May 12, as the Minister of War in the Provisional Government, in the following words:

Guchkov's Speech

"Gentlemen: If the Revolution, which created conditions under which new Russia will now exist, has passed over painlessly, it is due to the realization on the part of all classes of the population that the old authority was leading us to destruction. This was clearly recognized by those who struggled in the trenches; this was understood by the people in the rear as well. Whomever I have met, representatives of various classes and social stations, all of them believed that success was impossible as long as the old regime continued.

After the Revolution, new constructive work was started. The mere sweeping down of power was insufficient: it was necessary to

start the construction of the entire organization of our armed forces. And I may say that we have exerted all our strength to perform the work. If you only knew in what a pitiful, disorganized, chaotic state were the economic affairs in the Army when we took it over from the new regime! Nevertheless, we have succeeded, to a certain extent, in the matter of placing the Army supply on a sound basis. The situation is better now than it has been two months ago. Do not forget that the improvement was brought about under conditions of disorganization in the country's economic and industrial life.

Authority was swept down everywhere. Mechanics and engineers were removed from the factories and the work proceeded in an unsatisfactory manner. Great sacrifices had to be made in order to systematize the supply of ammunitions. We have achieved certain results, and if things continue in the same way as they are going at present, there are hopes that everything will be adjusted.

The energetic and loyal support of our Allies, old and new,—the Americans are aiding us to solve the problems of obtaining supplies from abroad,—facilitates matters for us. If a final agreement will be reached with America, who has undertaken to improve and systematize our transportation, a favorable solution of the most pressing problems will be assured in a few weeks.

The supply of foodstuffs is in a worse condition. But we must all know the truth. Upon this condition only can we expect the results of our common labor to be favorable.

I will say frankly that as regards the question of providing food for men, and especially fodder for horses, the conditions are extremely unfavorable. And this is the reason: under the old regime, notwithstanding the acute disruption, there was a power which was obeyed and there was an element of force, without which we cannot get along.

Take this as an illustration: as regards the question of food supply, the local administrations do not always comply with the demands of the central authorities. This is easy to understand from a psychological point of view. There is apprehension that the local population might be short of provisions should the demands of the central authorities be complied with. The people in the various localities feel acutely the interests of their districts and prefer to retain the provisions at home. Yet I always thought: 'Surely, we can sacrifice our wants for the needs of the front, just as well as the soldiers are sacrificing themselves for us and for the country.' It is regrettable that not all are imbued with this idea. Hence, we cannot get along without a strong power to which the local organizations would submit.

Yet the matter of provisions is comparatively satisfactory. As to the fodder, I will say frankly, the situation is critical. You would be

terrified if you knew the number of horses dying at the front. The stock of horses is melting away before our very eyes. The forage question is taking on disastrous proportions. I could prove this to you by figures and documents, but I think that all who were at the front will vouch for it.

Just to-day I received a telegram from the front informing me of the non-delivery of 80% of the forage required.

Not long ago the shortage of fodder was explained by demoralized transportation. Now we have adjusted transportation and the non-delivery is due to deliberate or involuntary refusal of the country to give the Army what it needs.

In this respect the voice of the people, and especially your voice, would be of great value, should you say to the country: 'Help to get everything necessary.' In the course of a month and a half we must increase the delivery of provisions for the Army and the situation will then improve. However, we must not only bear the burden resignedly, but also find ways to remove the conditions which make the shortage of provisions and forage possible.

I am coming to another more important question, that of equipping the Army. This matter was always badly managed. The evil influence of the accursed forces of old Russia has affected our military affairs more than anything else. Favoritism was rampant there. From this very tribune I have long ago pointed out and have constantly continued to point out that we will achieve no success unless protectionism—the pest of our Army—will be totally removed. I was waiting for the higher command to be replaced by new men, but the old regime, in the person of the Secretary of War, Rediger, an absolutely honest man, declared that it was powerless to do anything, though it recognized the evil.

The Army had to work under difficulties when the war commenced. I and many others were greatly alarmed. We anticipated a catastrophe unless the whole Commanding Staff was replaced and the system of supplying the Army changed. And when the catastrophe occurred, we demanded a new Staff and heroic measures, but we got nothing. Instead, as I have been informed by the Secretary of Justice, I was considered under suspicion and the minute records of my activities grew into volumes.

We realized that unless the old regime was overthrown we were lost. We realized that the old road had lead us to quicksands which had begun to draw us in. I felt that we were already in up to our necks.

And we entered upon new roads. We felt, however, that there was also danger lurking behind us should we fail to understand that this war must be the last war, in our lifetime at least, so that our children and grandchildren shall wage no new wars.

Thus one of the fundamental problems before me and the Pro-

visional Government was the problem of replacing the old Army officials with adherents of the new regime. I knew our Commanding Staff and I knew that there were many men of advanced age, honest men, excellent soldiers, but men who did not know the methods of modern warfare, who were incapable of adapting themselves to the new conditions. Indeed, you might place Napoleon the First at the head of our present Army and he may prove a failure. Coming down to the solution of this problem, I realized that clemency to individuals is out of place; for clemency to individual persons means injustice to the Army, to the country.

Yes, I might have erred as every one may err, but I have consulted with people who know and I have accepted their opinion only when I felt that it coincided with that of the people.

As a result, everyone that was gifted and talented in the Army was brought to light. And hierarchy was here disregarded.

There are men who were commanders of regiments when the war began, and who are now Army commanders. There are colonels whom I have advanced to the rank of chiefs of divisions, allowing them to skip all intermediate ranks. In this manner we achieved not only the improvement of the commanding forces, but also another thing of no lesser importance. The duty to the country, gentlemen, is a strong feeling; however, laboring under conditions like those under which we have previously worked, people were performing their duty honestly, but without inspiration. And what we proclaimed as a slogan: 'Opportunity to the gifted—everybody moulds his own fortune'—'every private,' as the French say, 'carries in his knapsack the Marshal's sceptre,'—fired the souls of everyone with a joyous feeling and made people work with enthusiasm.

Gentlemen, I have promised to enlighten you on a number of questions you are interested in. Permit me to dwell for a while on those perspectives which await us and those paths upon which we have to travel. We have to construct hastily a new life. Much has been done, more has to be done yet. And on this road there are certain limits where a scrupulous and honest laborer has to stop. It is important to be on the alert and decide soberly where is that fatal line of demarkation where constructive work ends and where chaos begins.

I am very much in favor of democratizing our Army. The Army is a peculiar organization. If we overthrow, on this road, all authority whatsoever, we defeat our own object.

The most precious thing about every man is the sense of personal responsibility. Every man must know that he is responsible for his every word and action. And should we entangle such a man in a network of conferences, with whom would the responsibility rest then? Indeed, if I, the chief of a division, contemplate to undertake this or that move, if I am unscrupulous and have no love for my country, if I am a coward who readily hides behind the backs of

others, then the easiest thing for me to do is to call a conference of fifty people and force them to accept this or that decision, for then I am no more responsible for the results.

If we blunt and suppress this sense of responsibility, we shall revert to the old regime, when people were not responsible for their actions. The suppression of the sense of personal responsibility is a very dangerous matter.

Believe me, gentlemen, there is nothing more important than the reconstruction of our Army on new principles, in order that our Army, having made the Revolution, shall not give up its main and noble task of defending and protecting the country.

Gentlemen, I am not attempting to frighten anyone, I am only telling how I suffered for three years and what I have lived through during these two months. Gentlemen, if the country will rise, if the Army will not lay down its arms and all will be called upon to coöperate, then we will not only lead Russia to victory, but we will make our country great and glorious."

A. I. Guchkov's speech was applauded by the entire assemblage. While he was speaking, A. F. Kerensky, then Minister of Justice, arrived and was received with a thundering ovation. A. F. Kerensky addressed the Convention in the following words:

Kerensky's Speech

"Two months have elapsed since the birth of Russian freedom. I did not come here in order to greet you. Our greetings have been dispatched to your trenches long since. Your pains and your sufferings were one of the motives prompting the Revolution. We could no longer endure the imbecile lavishness with which the old order spilled your blood. I have believed throughout the two months that the only power which can save our country and lead her to the right path is the consciousness of responsibility for every word and every act of ours—a responsibility resting on every one of us. This belief I still hold.

My heart and soul are uneasy. I am greatly worried and I must say so openly, no matter what accusations I may have to face or what the consequences will be. The process of resurrecting the country's creative forces for the purpose of establishing the new regime, rests on the basis of liberty and personal responsibility. As things are being conducted at present, they cannot continue. A great portion of the blame may be placed on the old regime. A century of slavery has not only demoralized the Government and transformed the old officials into a band of traitors, but it has also destroyed in the people themselves the consciousness of their responsibility for their fate, their country's destiny. And at present when Russia straightforwardly and unhesitatingly approaches a state of affairs

where the convocation of the Constituent Assembly will be possible, when she has taken her place at the head of the democratic countries, when every one of us is given the opportunity to freely and openly hold any views,—the entire responsibility for the fate of the country rests upon each individual. At present there is no man, and there can be no one, who would say: 'I speak, but am not responsible for my words.'

Comrades, soldiers and officers, I do not know very well what your feelings are there in the trenches, but I know what is going on here. Possibly the time is near when we shall have to say to you, 'We cannot give you all the bread which you have a right to expect of us and all the ammunition on which you have a right to depend,' and this will not come about through the fault of those who two months ago assumed before the tribunal of history and the whole world the formal and official responsibility for the honor and glory of our country.

The situation of Russia at present is complex and difficult. The process of transformation from slavery to liberty does not resemble a parade, either in spirit or duration. It is difficult and painful work, rendered particularly so through misconceptions, mutual misunderstandings, resulting in half-heartedness and mutual distrust degrading to our free citizenship.

The time has passed when a country could exist in complete isolation. The world has long since become one family, which, though frequently torn asunder by internal struggles, is nevertheless bound together by strong ties—economic, cultural, and others.

By establishing a democratic country in Europe at present, we may play a part of tremendous importance in the history of the world, if we shall be capable of inducing other nations to follow our path, if we make our friends and foes respect our liberty. But for this it is necessary that they see the impracticability of fighting the ideas of the Russian democracy. On this path we can hold out only as an organized, powerful, united State, able to compel respect. Should we, as contemptible slaves, fail to organize into a strong nation, then a dark, sanguinary period of internal strife will surely come, and our ideals will be cast under the heels of that despotic rule which holds that might is right and not that right is might. Every one of us, from the soldier to the minister, can do whatever he pleases, but he must do it with eyes wide open, placing his devotion to the common ideal above all else.

Comrades, for ten years we have suffered in silence and have been forceed to fulfil duties imposed upon us by the old hateful power. You fired on the people when the Government demanded. But now, when it comes to obeying your own revolutionary Government, you can no longer endure further sacrifice. Does this mean

that free Russia is a nation of rebellious slaves? (Signs of uneasiness all over the hall.)

Comrades, I do not wish to deceive the people; I must then tell the truth. I came to you because my strength was giving way, because I no longer possess my former courage. I haven't the previous conviction that we are not facing rebellious slaves, but conscious citizens engaged in the creation of a New Russia and going about their work with an enthusiasm worthy of the Russian people.

They tell us that our presence at the front is no longer needed; fraternizing is going on there. Do they fraternize on the French front? No, comrades. If this fraternizing is sincere, why don't the enemy troops fraternize on all fronts? Has not our enemy shifted his forces to the Anglo-French front? And has not the Anglo-French offensive been halted already? As far as we are concerned, there is no such thing as a Russian front; there is one front, and that is an Allied front.

We are marching toward peace, and I would not remain a member of the Provisional Government were it to disregard the will of the people as far as ending the war goes; but there are roads wide open and there are narrow, dark alleys, a stroll through which might cause one to lose both his life and honor.

We want to hasten the end of this fratricidal war; but to this end we must march across the open, straight road.

We are not an assembly of tired people; we are a nation. There are paths which are long and complex. We need perseverance and calm, to an enormous extent. If we propose new war aims, then it behooves us to conduct ourselves so as to command the respect of both friend and foe. No one respects a weakling.

I regret that I did not die two months ago. I would have died happy with the dream that the flame of a new life has been kindled in Russia, hopeful of a time when we could respect each other's right without resorting to the knout, hopeful that we could rule our vast country not as it was ruled by the old despotic power.

This is all, comrades, that I care to say. It is, of course, possible that I am mistaken. The diagnosis that I have made may turn out to be incorrect, but I think I am not so much in error as some may think. My diagnosis is: If we do not immediately realize the tragedy and hopelessness of the situation, if we fail to realize that the immediate responsibility rests on all, if our political organism will not work as smoothly as a well-oiled mechanism, then all that we dreamed of, all to which we are striving, will be retarded for several years and possibly drowned in blood. I want to believe that we will find the solution for our problems, and that we will march forward along the open and bright road of Democracy.

The moment has come when every one must search the depths

of his conscience in order to realize whither he himself is going and whither he is leading those who, through the fault of the old Government, which held the people in darkness, regard every printed word as law. It is not difficult to play with this element, but the game is apt to be carried too far.

I came here because I believe in my right to tell the truth as I understand it. People who even under the old regime went about their work openly and without fear of death, those people, I say, will not be terrorized. The fate of our country is in our hands and the country is in great danger. We have sipped of the cup of liberty and we are somewhat intoxicated; we are in need of the greatest possible sobriety and discipline. We must go down in history meriting the epitaph on our tombstones: 'They died, but slaves they never were.'"

A. F. Kerensky was followed by I. G. Tseretelli, the former leader of the Social-Democratic Faction in the Duma. Tseretelli had returned to Petrograd after ten years' imprisonment at hard labor, in Siberia, and his speech at the Convention of the Delegates from the Front was one of his first speeches after that long enforced silence.

The Siberian prison has streaked his hair with gray, his lungs with consumption, but his soul has remained unchanged, —noble, devoted to the great cause of Russia's freedom. Tseretelli's speech was time and again interrupted by enthusiastic applause.

Tseretelli's Speech

"Comrades, I am calling upon you to do identically the same thing that you are called upon to do by the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, which executes the united will of the revolutionary workmen, soldiers and peasants.

The fundamental question of the present moment is our attitude towards the war. The Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates has clearly and definitely voiced its opinion on the question. We must point out that those ideas and those slogans which are prevalent among the revolutionary democracy of Russia are altogether too weak in our Allied countries, while the proletariat of Germany and of Austria-Hungary have not emerged as yet from the intoxication caused by the chauvinistic fumes which Bethman-Holweg, together with the imperialistic bourgeoisie of Germany, used for the purpose of stupefying the proletariat. And now, when the German proletariat marches hand in hand with Wilhelm and the German bourgeoisie, our position is clear. We say that should we now extend our brotherly hand to the people of Central

Europe, i. e., should we make a separate peace with them, we would ruin our country. This would place an indelible stain on our honor and it would lead to Russia's destruction and devastation. Hence it is clear, that for the defense of our freedom, we must, while waiting for the awakening of the German proletariat, preserve the full strength and firmness of our fighting front and give it the most active support by all means available in the rear.

It is not our intention now to break up our union with our Allies. On the contrary, we are using all our efforts in order that the alliance made by the bourgeoisie shall be welded more closely by the cement of unity and brotherhood of the Democracies of the Entente countries. We have taken many steps already in that direction and we are glad to find that a similar movement is growing in those countries. And I am confident that soon the moment will arrive when the Democracy of the Allied countries, united by the same slogans, will form an iron ring surrounding Germany and Austria-Hungary, and will demand of these peoples that they accept those sacred principles in which we believe, and then, if the war will continue, it will be the fault of Germany alone. And until that moment, the disruption of the front will be a crime. Some already talk about breaking up the front, but I do not believe it; I cannot for a minute assume that a son of free Russia would help, by his conduct, to deal the death blow to Russia's liberties, to the cause of freedom the world over.

The second question concerns our relations with the Provisional Government. We well realize the necessity of having a strong power in Russia, however, the strength of this power must rely on its progressive and revolutionary policy. Our Government must adopt the revolutionary slogans of Democracy. It must grant the demands of the revolutionary people. It must turn over all the land to the laboring peasantry. It must safeguard the interests of the working class, enacting improved social legislation for the protection of labor. It must lead Russia to a speedy and lasting peace worthy of a great people.

Our Provisional Government is on the right road. The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, and together with it, all the responsible and organized elements of the Democracy, support the Government with all the power and authority at their disposal. Our control is the foundation of the power of the Provisional Government. By supervising the Government, we lend it extraordinary strength and firmness. And when all Russia will be completely united by one will, by one desire to safeguard fearlessly and without hesitation, all the liberties and rights of the people, then all difficulties will be overcome."

THE most outstanding moment of the Convention was the second speech of A. I. Guchkov, when he addressed the Delegates from the Front as a private citizen, after his resignation as Minister of War:

Guchkov's Second Speech

"Allow me to speak to you," said A. I. Guchkov, "not as the Minister of War. I shall speak to you as a Russian citizen. Yesterday I informed the Provisional Government that I cannot remain Minister of War and Navy any longer. To-day I sent Prince G. E. Lvov a written statement requesting him to relieve me of these duties.

"However, one more serious duty rests upon me, and that is to explain to you and through you to your comrades and all the Russian people, why I was obliged to decide upon this step.

Gentlemen, I have never feared responsibility. In general there are very few things that I am afraid of. I fear first of all and most of all the voice of my own conscience and this voice of my conscience has forced me to come to this decision.

Gentlemen, twelve years ago, when Russia, as it appeared then, was entering upon the road of reforms, I was also called to governmental power. I did not fear the responsibility but I stated my terms—I agree to coöperate with only such people who work for the welfare of the country and according to a definite program, but I cannot work with those whom I distrust and whose political views I do not share, for that would be deceiving both the country and the public.

My position was easier now. I did not disagree on anything with the people with whom I had to work. A better staff I could not wish for, and even if there were slight differences between us, our aims were the same. But even working with comrades close to me spiritually, I could not remain in office any longer, for the entire Government and the Minister of War in particular, are placed in such conditions that they cannot fulfil their duty.

Gentlemen, I have never lied. I did not lie even to the old regime. And when I was chosen President of the Imperial Duma and entered into direct relations with the head of the old regime—the Emperor, I said: 'Your Excellency, I shall speak the truth only, hard and bitter as it may be. You are surrounded by flatterers, who tell you only pleasant things. Grant me the sole right of telling you the truth.'

And likewise now, through you I am speaking to the democracy and to the whole Russian people a word of truth. The democracy, gentlemen, as well as every other master, has its flatterers who want to turn its head. (Shouts: "Right!")

Gentlemen, I am a civilian by dress, but a military man, heart and soul. I have always loved war and the army, not because I possess

Underwood & Underwood

A. I. GUCHKOV
Secretary of War in the First Provisional Government.

blood-thirsty instincts, but because I was convinced that a people who would create a strong army before which the enemies will tremble could not fail to attain the greatest success on the road of peace."

A. I. Guchkov cited the flourishing state of Germany after the victorious war with France in 1870, and continued:

"I have lived through four wars, gentlemen. The war that brought me to a conscious reaction towards things and made me judge things sanely was the Russo-Japanese War. Before my eyes a grave crime against the Army and the country was being committed. I felt that this Army might become exhausted, might be bled to death, and no matter how valiant and brave it might be, it was doomed to defeat.

In the fields of Manchuria, sitting with the soldiers at the camp-fire and thinking over the causes of our failures, I realized that ruin awaited us, and I took an oath, Hannibal's oath, to devote my life to the rehabilitation and consolidation of the military power of the Russian Army. And, as you know, the next few years, it seems, gave me that opportunity. The movement for liberation placed before us the fundamental problem—the creation of a strong military power in Russia. Fate favored me once more and I was elected Chairman of the Committee on Defense, in the Duma.

In looking over the stenographic reports of my speeches from this tribune, I recalled a great many things. If you will have leisure time and you will familiarize yourselves with what the Imperial Duma was doing in the sphere of defense, you will see that there was not a single question that it did not touch upon.

In one of my speeches I pointed out that the participation of irresponsible persons, such as our Grand Dukes, in the management of the Army was ruining it. I said that not at a time when everybody, as is the case now, could freely cast slurs upon these gentlemen, but in 1908, and on account of this they named me 'young Turk' and that name has remained with me ever since."

A. I. Guchkov quoted a passage from his famous speech about the irresponsible Grand Dukes and remarked:

"An interesting detail, gentlemen, when I was speaking about the irresponsibility of the Grand Dukes, someone exclaimed from these seats on the right: 'Thanks to the Lord,' which meant 'Thanks to the Lord that these people are irresponsible.'"

Recalling the resolution of the Third Duma, which declared that the situation in the Artillery Department indicated that a a catastrophe was imminent, A. I. Guchkov continued:

"At the head of the Artillery Department at that time were people very much unlike those in power now, people whose place should have been behind prison bars, and this resolution remained a voice in the wilderness, for the post of Minister of War was then occupied

by an offender against the State, Sukhomlinov. He was surrounded by suspicious characters, a band of spies, who did everything possible for the destruction of the Army and the ruin of Russia. When I learned of it, I openly hurled this accusation at Sukhomlinov at a meeting of the Committee on Defense and also named Myasoyedov and Altshiller. You remember the results: Sukhomlinov remained at his post, and Myasoyedov was instigated against me and here on these islands we fought a duel. He missed, and I fired a shot in the air to show that I did not want to soil my hands.

When I returned home, where I was feverishly awaited, for my return was no more a matter of certainty, I was asked why I did not kill Myasoyedov. I shoot well and seldom miss... I replied that I did not want to save this scoundrel from the gallows, which awaited him. And you know that he got it.

I knew the conditions of the Army, when our troops were leaving for the front, followed by women and children, who paved their way with flowers. Those were happy and bright days. I went to the military authorities, with whom I had refused to have anything to do prior to this and told them that defeat faced us if the supply of munitions were not organized, and if the General Staff of the Army were not changed, that our Army would bleed to death and perish and with it the country itself.

When in August, 1914, I saw the unfortunate remnants of the Army defeated at Soldau pass before me, it was clear to me that there was no escape from defeat.

I wrote and spoke, but I was not heeded and was looked upon as a pessimist.

I came back as a plain petitioner, went to all the authorities, begged and implored them, but they were as deaf as a wall. It seemed as if I were trying to break through a wall with bare hands.

The heavy losses suffered in the Carpathians in March and April, 1915, forced all to realize the situation. It opened their eyes. The authorities became frightened, the country became frightened and everybody understood whither we were headed. Feverish work began; Municipal and Zemstvo Unions and War-Industrial Committees came into existence and all harnessed themselves to the common wagon and tried to pull the Army out from the mire in which the Government had put it. Something was achieved, but not everything, by far.

We were falling lower and lower until we had given up entire provinces, till we had lost thousands of valuable Russian lives, before we realized that it was impossible to work with the old regime any longer and that the only thing left us was the overthrow of the old order.

Whatever the future of Russia may be, I will say that this act of overthrowing the old regime was a beneficial act which created con-

ditions under which Russia can find the road to salvation. That's why I, far from the revolutionary atmosphere, became a revolutionist. I saw clearly that the old power was leading us to defeat with all its consequences and that only its overthrow could save Russia.

The first week after the Revolution, I had the joyous feeling and enthusiasm common to all of us. Everyone felt, it seemed, that he was now the creator of the happiness of Russia and that a great and serious responsibility rested upon him, and we began to eliminate the many shortcomings. The work was facilitated by the general enthusiasm.

Recently I received very interesting material from the front—reports describing the morale of the Army during the first days and weeks after the Revolution. I read these and thought, 'How well the Army has understood what has happened and what a mighty lever the Revolution has been for the uplift of its morale!'

Unfortunately that refers to the 17th and 18th of March only. Since then that enthusiasm has died away and a crisis has arisen. We have begun to go backwards.

I realize the fearful straits in which our Army finds itself—an incredible physical and moral weariness, the result of this hard, unusual war and gloomy life without success, without victory. Recently Wilhelm boasted of entering four capitals. We have captured no capitals and so the gray veil before our eyes has been weighing heavily upon our souls. Meanwhile from the rear the deteriorating influence of decay has been making itself felt, the effect of the mire upon the healthy morale of the Army has begun to manifest itself, and the process of decomposition has set in.

We realized that it was impossible to organize, manage and command the new Army of free Russia, according to the methods of the old regime. A series of reforms was started. But there is a limit beyond which, despite all good intentions, the opposite becomes true, and there we have the beginning of the destruction of the living, mighty and peculiar organism of the army. It looks to me that we have passed the line of demarkation, we have passed the limit.

Gentlemen, not a single country in the world is governed and lives along lines on which at the present time Russia lives and is governed, and not a single army in the world is formed and managed on the basis on which our army is built and managed. It is impossible that the personal responsibility of the leaders of the army should be eliminated and every move of theirs be dependent upon sessions, meetings and organizations. On a system of elections living States are built, but on the accidental basis of individual demands and decisions of meetings, neither the welfare of the country nor the welfare of the army can be effected.

And here is the danger that threatened us and in the midst of which are now standing. We have crossed that boundary; beyond

begins something which threatens our reforms, the very existence of our Army and the very freedom of Russia.

It seems to me that we are imperceptibly returning to the old order and to the fatal feature of the old regime, when there was power without responsibility and responsibility without power.

There is only one road for nations incapable of building a government on new bases, and that road leads through anarchy burdensome and bloody to despotism.

At times it seems to me that only a miracle will save Russia. I believe in miracles. I believe that the light of realization will enter our minds, and the gifted Russian nation that was able in the past, under the most trying conditions, to save herself, will be able to save herself once more. I believe that the Russian people, enlightened by a miracle, will lead us to the bright road and will save the country.

I, your former Minister of War, appeal to you and implore you, as a Russian, as a member of that beloved military family to which we all belong, I appeal to you and implore you: Help to hasten the coming of this clear realization of the Russian people, and only then, only under such circumstances, will we save both the Russian people and Russia from ruin."

The speech of A. I. Guchkov made a great impression. After a brief pause, thunderous applause burst forth. A. I. Guchkov himself, seemingly agitated, left the Convention.

ANOTHER outstanding speech at this Convention of Delegates from the Front was that of G. V. Plekhanov, the founder of the Russian Social-Democracy, who addressed the Convention on May 16. The Convention hall resounded with applause when the Chairman announced: "The floor belongs to the veteran of the Russian Revolution, Comrade Plekhanov."

Plekhanov's Speech

"Not long ago," began G. V. Plekhanov, "we were officially considered loyal subjects of the Russian Tzar. Right now there is no Tzar; we are not subjects, we are free citizens. The rank of citizen, which we obtained as the result of a long and tenacious fight, at the price of innumerable sacrifices, has given us extensive rights, but it also places upon us great duties. Our first duty is to safeguard our liberty, to safeguard the Revolution. Our second duty is that towards our Allies.

The inscription on our banner is not oppression of peoples, not enslavement of anyone, but free, self-determination of nations. This

is our banner, the new banner raised by the Russian Revolution. Our task at the front is to support, by all means, the spirit of the Army, its fighting power. Under such conditions can there be any question of fraternizing of any kind? And what is this fraternizing to which some people are inviting you? The German pike comes to the Russian carp and, under the pretext of fraternizing, detects your military secrets and observes your positions, in order to seize them more easily.

I am asked: 'What should a democratic Government be?' My answer is: 'It should be a Government enjoying the people's full confidence and sufficiently strong to prevent any possibility of anarchy.' Under what conditions, then, can such a strong, democratic Government be established? In my opinion it is necessary, for this purpose, that the Government be composed of representatives of all those parts of the population that are not interested in the restoration of the old order. What is called a coalition Ministry is necessary. Our comrades, the Socialists, acknowledging the necessity of entering the Government, can and should set forth definite conditions, definite demands. But there should be no demands that would be unacceptable to the representatives of other classes, to the spokesmen of the interests of other parts of the population. Such a demand is that for the publication of treaties concluded with our Allies. The question of publication of treaties is one not of principle, but of expediency. And at the present moment compliance with this demand is liable to start you off on the wrong road, on the road towards a separate peace, this idea which has no adherents in our midst. (Turbulent applause.)

We have treaties with democratic France. (Cries from the floor: "A bourgeois France!") Yes, comrades, a bourgeois France, but remember that Schedrin has said that every Russian that loves his country has two Fatherlands, Russia and France. Only a short time ago you stopped singing 'God, save the Tzar,' and what is your substitute for it? The French Marseillaise. Yes, France is a bourgeois country to the highest degree, but Marx and Engels have already shown us the revolutionary part played by the bourgeoisie in history, and by the French bourgeoisie particularly. Just think what a break with the Allies, at the present moment, signifies—perhaps, war with them in the near future, in a shameful alliance with Wilhelm.

The old Government was unable and unwilling to carry on this war. To attempt to prove it to you would be to repeat facts known to all. At present a free people must protect itself."

G. V. Plekhanov explained the meaning of the principle "free self-determination of nations" and of the formula "peace without annexations or indemnities." He argued that the restoration of the status quo ante bellum would be not peace,

but a truce, for such a peace would result only in the further development of militarism.

To the question as to whether Russia should fight, in this war, for the colonial interests of England, G. V. Plekhanov replied: "The answer is clear to everyone who accepts the principle of free self-determination of nations. The colonies are not deserts, but populated localities, and their population should also be given the right to determine freely their own destinies. It is clear that Russia cannot fight for the sake of anyone's predatory aspirations. But I am surprised that the question of annexations is raised in Russia, whose sixteen provinces are under the German heel! I do not understand this exclusive solicitude for Germany's interests."

Plekhanov discussed in detail the internal situation in Germany and explained why the German democrats were powerless to prevent the war:

"In the fall of 1906," said G. V. Plekhanov, "when Wilhelm was planning to move his troops on the then revolutionary Russia, I asked my comrades. the German Social-Democrats: 'What will you do in case Welhelm declares war on Russia?' At the party convention in Mannheim, Bebel gave me an answer to this question. Bebel introduced a resolution in favor of a general strike in the event of war being declared on Russia. But this resolution was not adopted; members of the trade unions voted against it. This is a fact which you should not forget. Bebel had to beat a retreat, and introduced another resolution. Kautsky and Rosa Luxemburg were dissatisfied with Bebel's conduct. I asked Kautsky whether there is a way of bringing about a general strike against the workers' will. As there is no such way, there was nothing else Bebel could do. And if Wilhelm had sent his hordes to Russia in 1906, the German workers would not have done an earthly thing to prevent the butchery. In September, 1914, the situation was still worse.

It is greatly to be regretted that even up to the present time the majority of the German trade unions follow the Scheidemanns, the Davids and others—there is no place for them in the International."

In reply to a question about the Army, whether it was not tired and physically unable to continue the war, G V. Plekhanov answered:

"You ought to be more familiar with the situation than I. If the Army's demoralization has reached such a degree that it can offer no resistance, say so frankly and put the neck of the revolutionary Russian people under the yoke of German militarism. But if there still is any powder left, fight; you are responsible for Russia's

destiny; you have no right to raise the white banner in front of the German Emperor. (Turbulent applause.) Our Army is not yet beaten. It is still sufficiently strong; it is only necessary to raise its spirit, and this must be done by you. You came here for this purpose only, you should have no other thoughts. (Turbulent applause.) The war has cost us dearly, but peace without victory will be dearer still. Complete stagnation is threatening us, we are threatened with China's fate, in Europe."

Plekhanov was asked whether by strong Government he understood a Government which would send troops for the pacification of peasants.

"I have expressed no thoughts," replied Plekhanov, "which would give you ground to think that I desire a Government of this kind. (Applause.) Fortunately, there are among you no persons who would accept the role of pacificators or hangmen. (Applause.) I only say that no anarchy should be allowed; there should be no arbitrary solution of problems to be taken up by the Constituent Assembly. Strong and resolute moral persuasion with regard to those sowing the seeds of disturbance is sufficient for our purposes."

To a question as to control over the Provisional Government, Plekhanov replied: "A coalition Government should be under the control of all democratic Russia and not under that of separate parties. A coalition Government must have the confidence of the whole nation; it should not be hampered in its work, but assisted most readily."

AMONG the many speeches made at this Convention, we must mention especially the speech of the representative of the Black Sea Fleet, Sailor Batkin. The Army and Navy were still alive, and the Bolsheviki represented only a negligible minority at the Convention. Batkin's speech may therefore be looked upon as the expression of the spirit of the entire Convention.

Batkin's Speech

"We greet all those," said Batkin, "who fought for the young, dearly bought freedom, those in whom we trust implicitly, appreciating their love of the free Fatherland and of peace the world over; we greet those who were sold out and betrayed by the repre-

sentatives of the old Government, by whom they were sent to face with bare hands the German 42 centimeter guns.

We greet those who, while betrayed by the old Government, still did not lose the war. We greet all those who neither now nor ever will give up our dear Russia or our freedom.

Yesterday, behind our back, we were called imposters. Let them verify our credentials. We are honest fighters and we are coming to you, comrades, to deliver our message. In case of necessity we will all go into the trenches to protect the country from the enemy threatening our freedom.

On the basis of mutual confidence, mutual understanding and love, we have established an iron discipline, the bulwark of every civil and military organization. For this reason the Black Sea Fleet can at any moment start an offensive and say loudly to the whole world: 'We do not fear the enemy.'

Although the war was forced on us in the interests of the bourgeoisie, free peoples are involved in it, and therefore we have no right to refuse our help to those who have become related to us by their bloodshed on battlefields. The French and the English are shedding their blood, as we do, for the emancipation of all peoples. The German Socialists were saying that they were bringing freedom to us. We have obtained this freedom ourselves.

We should not leave the friendly peoples of France and England to shed their blood alone in their fight with the enemy. The Black Sea Fleet will never sign a separate peace. (Turbulent applause.)

If we are against a separate peace, we will also prohibit fraternizing. The Germans are only looking for a convenient moment to defeat us.

If there should be no separate peace, then the very moment the Germans leave on our front a small number of soldiers, having transferred the remainder to the French front, we must immediately start an offensive in order to protect our brethren on the French and English fronts.

Fraternizing is treachery. The Black Sea Fleet does not believe that there are traitors in the young revolutionary Russian Army. Fraternizing is a blow in the backs of our Allies and treachery to the cause of freedom. An army where each one thinks only of himself is not an army, but a disorganized mob. Among us in the Black Sea Fleet the officers are like brothers. Our discipline is based not on force but on mutual confidence and love of Russia. Only an army so organized can safeguard the freedom of Russia.

Comrades. one must be politically short-sighted to speak for a separate peace and to demand the publication of the secret treaties. We too are in favor of the publication of secret treaties, but only if it will not result in a break with the Allies.

If we have a government enjoying the confidence of all, let this

government know these treaties, because it is very difficult for the masses to understand the complicated international problems. Such a government will not betray Russia.

We must say: 'We want nothing belonging to anybody else, but we shall never give up that which belongs to us.'

We are defending our liberty, but under the present conditions such defense means an offensive. We are fighting not for conquests. We only want to paralyze that power which seeks to take possession of our lands.

It is necessary that the wealthy people give money, the peasants—cheap bread, and the workers—their work at the looms. It is necessary that the Army stand shoulder to shoulder, side by side with the country's Democracy for the defense of our Fatherland.

The Army should say: 'Hey, you, who have remained too long in the rear; take off your nice looking civil clothes and go into the trenches. Hey, you, forget your discords and do not ruin Russia by these dissensions. You, all in the rear, unite and help the Army, which will defend our freedom. Strengthen this freedom, you will then receive the land, which will be given up to nobody else.'

And we, of the Black Sea Fleet, pledge our oath to you."

Answering several speeches of the Bolsheviki, Batkin said:

"I shall not have the courage to tell the Black Sea Fleet what I heard here. I think and hope that this was said by representatives not of the majority of the Army, but of its small minority. (Applause.) The Black Sea Fleet thinks it is necessary to end this war soon; but how shall this be done? We must not waste time on oratory, but talk business! The Bolsheviki who have spoken here are unable to answer the question as to how the war shall be ended. I am horror-stricken when I hear men of the Army speak of a separate peace. If these words do not express a sincere understanding of the question, or are not due to misconception, then they are prompted merely by the instinct for personal self-preservation."

The following resolution was finally adopted by the Convention:

"The First Convention of the Delegates from the Front, having heard reports on current problems from the representatives of the Provisional Government, members of the Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, and from representatives of the Socialist parties and having considered the situation, hereby resolves:

(1) That the disorganization of the food supply system and the weakening of the Army's fighting capacity, due to distrust of a majority of the military authorities, to lack of inner organization and to other temporary causes, have reached such a degree that the freedom won by the Revolution is seriously endangered.

(2) That the sole salvation lies in establishing a government enjoying the full confidence of the toiling masses, in the awakening of a creative revolutionary enthusiasm and in concerted self-sacrificing work on the part of all the elements of the population.

The Convention extends to the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates its warmest appreciation of the latter's self-sacrificing and honest work for the strengthening of the new order in Russia, in the interests of the Russian Democracy, and at the same time expresses its wish to see, in the nearest possible future, the above Council transformed into an All-Russian Council of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates.

The Convention is of the opinion that the war is at present conducted for purposes of conquest and against the interests of the masses, and it, therefore, urges the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates to take the most energetic and effective measures for the purpose of ending this butchery, on the basis of free self-determination of nations and of renunciation by all belligerent countries of annexations and indemnities. Not a drop of Russian blood shall be given for aims foreign to us.

Considering that the earliest possible achievement of this purpose is contingent only upon a strong revolutionary Army, which would defend freedom and government, and be fully supported by the organized revolutionary Democracy, that is, by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates responsible for its acts to the whole country, the Convention welcomes the responsible decision of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates to take part in the new Provisional Government.

The Convention demands that the representatives of the Church give up for the country's benefit the treasures and funds now in the possession of churches and monasteries. The Convention makes an urgent appeal to all parts of the population.

1. To the comrade-soldiers in the rear: Comrades! Come to fill up our thinning ranks in the trenches and rise shoulder to shoulder with us for the country's defense!

2. Comrade-Workers! Work energetically and unite your efforts, and in this way help us in our last fight for a universal peace for nations! By strengthening the front you will strengthen freedom!

3. Fellow-Citizens of the capital class! Follow the historic example of Minin! Even as he, open your treasuries and quickly bring your money to the aid of freed Russia!

4. To the Peasants: Fathers and brothers! Bring your last mite to help the weakening front! Give us bread, and oats and hay to our horses. Remember that the future Russia will be yours!

5. Comrades-intellectuals! Come to us and bring the light of knowledge into our dark trenches! Share with us the difficult work of advancing Russia's freedom and prepare us for the citizenship of new Russia!

6. To the Russian women: Support your husbands and sons in the performing of their civil duty to the country! Replace them where this is not beyond your strength! Let your scorn drive away all those who are slackers in these difficult times!"

CHAPTER VI

The First All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Delegates

THE importance of this Congress may be explained by the mere mentioning of the fact that the Russian peasantry constitutes about 85 per cent. of Russia's entire population. The first All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Delegates opened in Petrograd on May 17, that is two months after the Revolution. During this time the organization of the peasantry went so far that over one thousand Delegates arrived in Petrograd, from all parts of Russia and from the Front.

The first All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Delegates opened on May 17, at two o'clock in the afternoon, in the main auditorium of the Petrograd Narodny Dom (People's House). The platform was occupied by the members of the Organizing Committee, of the Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates and by leaders of the Russian Socialist Parties. The Congress was opened by S. S. Maslov, later Secretary of Agriculture in Kerensky's Cabinet, who addressed the assembly in the name of the Organizing Committee, in the following words:

Maslov's Speech

"It is the first time in the history of Russia, in the history of the Russian peasantry, that we have, in you, a central organ of all the Russian peasant class, so completely representative and elected on a democratic basis.

What are the tasks confronting this organ? They are historical tasks,—tasks concerning all Russia.

We are living now at a time when everything is full of movement, full of creative meaning and hope. We have received an historical inheritance; it is enormous and burdensome, but we cannot free ourselves from it soon. You, representatives of the toiling peasantry, will have to reckon with this inheritance.

In my opinion, the past had the three following characteristics: (1) The strangling of all rights of the large toiling masses of our people; (2) lack of development of civil self-consciousness on the part of these masses; and (3) the mechanical nature of all social relations.

Comrades, the past is characterized by the crushing of the rights of the masses; at present we must inevitably suffer the consequences of this former tyranny. This is always the case, whenever strong oppression is exercised, and if the oppressed people possess life and vigor, a reaction inevitably sets in in the people's mind. This demand for rights, the present reaction against the past deprivation of rights, is working too strongly, and I am convinced, and I state with regret that at present, as evidenced among many parts of the population, the consciousness of their rights seems to predominate over that of the duties confronting them. (Applause.) Take the war, for instance; this fact of tremendous significance, a fact which everyone is compelled to consider and which forces everybody's attention, irrespective of one's ideas and relations,—in this respect, our first task is the earliest possible termination of this war, on conditions which would safeguard the interests of the country and of the peasants, and the interests of the Democracy of the whole world.

I know that we are present at a great festival of all the Russian peasantry; please excuse me, therefore, for the note of sadness, the note of warning appeal, sounding in my speech, but, comrades, our present situation causes more anxiety and pain than joy."

After his speech, S. S. Maslov declared the All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Delegates open. Upon his motion, E. C. Breshko-Breshkovskaya was unanimously elected Honorary Chairman of the Congress.

The appearance of Breshko-Breshkovskaya brought forth a storm of applause. The entire assembly rose, as one man, and greeted the "Grandmother of the Russian Revolution."

Speech of E. C. Breshko-Breshkovskaya

"Citizens! During fifty years of my reasoning life, I was only thinking of that day, I was only picturing the day when the Russian peasantry would finally become the ruler of the destinies of the Russian people. My expectations have been realized. Citizens, I do not know of any one happier than myself, especially since so many excellent, courageous, noble comrades perished many years ago, without seeing this day, while I have been lucky enough to live to see it. I have lived to see you together, to see you in friendship, to see you taking power in your hands.

We are witnessing now a great triumph, a great festival, a great joy; but all this places upon us a still greater responsibility. Having lived to this event, after fifty years of revolutionary activity, it seems no one could be more happy and more triumphant than I am; still, when I received the telegram announcing that the Great Revolution had taken place and the people had become masters of their destiny, I began to feel an enormous responsi-

bility. I thought instantly; 'Are we ready, are we able not only to accept the Revolution in its present extent, but also to bring it to a happy end, to the complete triumph deserved by the Russian people?' You may take all the happiness for yourselves, your children and your grandchildren. You may take all the freedom, all the land, all the education you need, without shedding a drop of blood. You have shed enough of it during these three years, you have suffered enough to be relieved from additional sacrifices. But, citizens, another sacrifice will now be demanded of you,—that of great concentration of your strength and your attention to your country's needs.

However, I have never doubted, and have no doubt at present, but that as soon as the peasantry will enter the political arena, it will show its will, its wisdom, its patience. The victory will be decisive. I know Russia and my people, and each time when I returned from exile, I found the people more and more developed, constantly seeking improvement, seeking an understanding of their own destiny and of the country's future. And at present the work of half a century convinces me more and more that I am right, and especially right now there is no place for doubt. Going through our Provinces I saw that the peasants are in a noble state of mind; they are conscious of their power, but at the same time they do not wish to use this power for evil, whether towards anybody else or towards themselves. They are careful, economical as always; they understand that it would not be to anybody's advantage to ruin Russia; on the contrary, they know it is necessary to take care of all her riches, all her properties, in order to improve them all and to pass them to their posterity in improved condition.

I am at ease to-day because I see that the peasantry has taken a most enthusiastic and most serious part in the affairs of the whole country. And please remember, peasants, that upon your return home you must not forget these national affairs; they must be in your memory and in the field of your vision, because the township (volost) is a drop, and the district a drop, and the Province is a part of a whole; the whole is a power, which can be destroyed or disturbed by no one from the outside, as long as you will not permit it."

E. C. Breshko-Breshkovskaya then spoke on the war:

"No schools are being built; the land is not being tilled as it should be; all affairs are neglected. Why? Because we have war on our hands; and, therefore, tell me, is there any advantage to us in keeping our front on a war footing and in allowing the people to sit in trenches with their hands folded and to die from fever, scurvy and all sorts of contagious diseases? If our Army had a real desire to help the Allies, the war would be finished in one or two months, but we are prolonging it by sitting with our hands folded.

And what's the result? We do not move; the war is being protracted in spite of us; and the Germans somehow or other do not accept the proffered hand, but prepare to fight. Moreover, our Allies are fighting, and we cannot desert them.

Have you thought in what situation Russia would find herself if she were forsaken by the Allies, who are all Europe, and if she remained with Wilhelm and Charles? This is not to our advantage; it is more advantageous for us to be with the French Republic, with the American Republic, with the freedom-loving England, and comparatively better even with China, which is also a Republic. For this reason even I, who cannot see our ill or wounded soldiers without fright and horror, I still say, let us rather strain all our forces and finish this war, than prolong it endlessly, and in this way bring distress to Russia, lose the friendship of our Allies, and put the whole world in a terrible situation, because the neutral countries are suffering and are clamoring for the war to end.

Now, I wish to ask if any among those present know of a way of ending the war without fighting, and if any one tells me that either through magic or through some successful maneuver the war can be ended without fighting, I shall bow to the ground before him. But all the soldiers, officers, workingmen and peasants whom I have questioned have failed to disclose such a way; on the contrary, everyone understands that this war can end either in defeat or in victory for us. Oh, it would be a great joy, if the enemy were willing to extend his hand to us; but this is not the case so far; we know only one thing, namely, that Wilhelm exerts the most enormous influence in Germany and Charles in Austria, and as long as this is the case we have no hope for peace, and we must fight.

I advise you to take the situation in your own hands and to demand that which is necessary for the people's welfare, and not that which is urged by individuals prompted by their personal considerations. Think what is necessary for the happiness of Russia, what is needed for making her free in order that all the people may work exclusively for the country's benefit.

Yes, are not 170,000,000 people worthy of consideration? They cannot all be given up to please Wilhelm and Charles. I bow before you and beg you all assembled here, to tell to all Russia that it is time at last to free our hands for work useful to the whole country and not to hang any more in suspense, as we have been for the last three years." (Loud applause, which turned into an ovation.)

After Breshko-Breshkovskaya's speech, S. S. Maslov, speaking for the Organizing Committee, proposed V. M. Chernov, the leader of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, as Second

Honorary Chairman of the Congress. Chernov was greeted with an ovation.

Chernov's Speech

"Comrades, the present moment is fraught with extreme difficulties, for old Russia, the old regime, has left us an exceedingly burdensome heritage: disruption in the country's economic life, an empty treasury and a burden of debts; demoralized supply and transportation service, with chaos reigning supreme, in all forms imaginable. All this has been left us while we were engaged in the most trying war of unparalleled magnitude.

Moreover, comrades, when the old order fell, it left the entire country in a completely disorganized state. The vital forces of the country, which were supposed to replace the old order, were left entirely unorganized, for the entire policy of the old order consisted in splitting up those forces and crushing them. Its only means of salvation was not to allow the country to unite, to keep all the people utterly divided in order to forcibly fetter them and hold the entire country in subjection.

When the old order was overthrown, when all that was considered as human dust rose in a whirlwind of indignation and wrath, and when that void, with which the old regime was trying to surround itself by repelling all that was sound, had caved in upon us, the following situation was created.

There was the Russia of the bourgeoisie, the Russia of the Duma, which was comparatively well organized, and the Russia of the toilers, the Russia of the downtrodden masses, who were entirely disorganized, but who were fighting in the streets, shedding their blood, and who finally overthrew the old regime. Under such conditions, the disorganized laborers of Russia were unable to assume the responsibility for reorganizing Russia, for the formation of a new government. They had to busy themselves, first of all, with another still more urgent and fundamental problem, that of organizing their own forces. This organization had to be effected hurriedly and rapidly, and for this task there were not enough experienced people among the laboring masses of Russia.

It was, therefore, natural that the toilers of Russia should, through the revolutionary Army, through the revolutionary proletariat of Petrograd, allow the Russian bourgeoisie to create a government of its own and to establish their power. They allowed the bourgeoisie to do it, of course, not because they recognized this bourgeoisie as a new autocratic power. The bourgeoisie was allowed to assume power on certain terms which, in the opinion of the laborers, might safeguard the cause of the laboring Democracy until such time as the Democracy would organize itself and assert its will in the Constituent Assembly.

The original intention of the democratic labor elements was to wait as long as possible for the Constituent Assembly, preparing for it, organizing the people in order that they might express their will in the Constituent Assembly and decide who is to reconstruct Russia, who is take the power, and how this power is to be used. But, comrades, the Russian bourgeoisie has from the very beginning felt that she is hardly sufficiently strong, and hardly possesses enough prestige throughout Russia to bring her Government enough support to cope with all the difficulties created and left by the old regime. For, in order to overcome these difficulties, it would not be sufficient to replace the less capable Ministers by more competent individuals. The solution of these problems requires the concerted effort of the entire people, the coöperation of the whole nation.

It stands to reason that the Government must head the forward drive, the progressive movement of the whole country. The Government must be not at the footboard of the chariot of New Russia, who has paved for herself a new path and who goes ever onward as the people progress in their work of organizing. The Government must not stand in the rear of that chariot, but rather in the very front, and it is to this task that the Government of the bourgeois classes has proven itself unequal.

The Russian bourgeosie has felt that she is not sufficiently strong to get along without the Russian Democracy. In the very beginning she solved this question by deciding to form at least one link that would unite the Russian bourgeoisie with the Russian toiling masses. Our comrade, the first Socialist Minister, Kerensky, has accomplished the truly superhuman task of serving as such a link, acting as the mouthpiece, expressing the spirit of Democracy, the spirit of the workers, the spirit of the people, the spirit of the revolutionary Army. The rest of the Members of the Government were representatives of the Russian bourgeoisie.

As events developed, the more apparent did it become that the growth of the power of the toiling classes of Russia, the progress of organization advanced at a rate which surpassed the expectations of the bourgeoisie, as represented in the old Russian Duma. And in proportion as this growth continued, the gulf between what the country wished done and what the Government found it posible to do, increased, the needs of the situation growing more complicated and disproportionate to the possibilities offered by bourgeois Russia.

The Provisional Government, taking notice of this, and desiring to possess full power which would enable it to shoulder the responsibility, is beginning to apply to the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, offering individual members Ministerial portfolios, inviting individual Socialists to enter the Ministry, and to become Members of the Government.

How did the democratic labor elements respond to this? As long

as it was possible, they answered in the negative, saying: 'There is at present so much work in connection with the task of organizing the working masses and so little capacity as compared with the immense requirements of that work, that we do not wish to give away even a portion of this strength before the time comes. As long as it is possible, we shall support you in so far as you are carrying out the program on which we are agreed, but we cannot accept these positions ourselves. However, when we are properly organized, when we feel sufficiently the might of the Russian working class, the revolutionary Army and the peasantry, then we shall act otherwise. Then we shall have something to back us up, then we shall take part in the Government, and assuming the responsibility, will at the same time put forward such powerful masses, summoning them to our aid in the cause of reconstructing Russia as a whole, that no difficulties will frighten us.

Now, however, the question that we are facing is not that of organizing the laboring classes, but of reorganizing Russia as a whole, Russia which was left in a pitiful condition, practically in a state of disruption and chaos.

This work of reconstruction cannot wait, for it is a question of saving the country, and that is why I ask you, comrades, whether Socialists are to assume the power and whether their representatives are to enter the governmental councils.

This question does not mean that individuals enjoying your confidence are to accept ministerial portfolios. That is a small matter. The question goes further, deeper and broader. It means: are you for this decision to immediately take into your strong hands the matter of organizing Russia's local affairs? Are you ready for this? Do you realize the imperative need, the urgent necessity for building up Russia to such an extent that even though you were not sufficiently organized, you would say: 'Yes, we are ready to stake all the power we have, we are willing to place all our forces at the service of this cause, the cause of organizing the local life of our free country on a national scale, of organizing that inheritance, that ruined estate which was left by Tzarism, the heritage which was the family estate of the Romanovs, and which is now our dear beloved country?' (Outburst of applause.)

Comrades! We must begin this task, this tremendous undertaking, with the realization of these duties which naturally devolve upon us. This great task must not be performed in an easy-going manner, perfunctorily, for then it would not be a great task. We must become fully conscious of the fact that here our thoughts and our sentiments are going to be blended into one collective will to reconstruct Russia, that we must leave for our local posts, there to work for the enlightenment of those forces which were heretofore kept in darkness.

The consolidation of all forces is necessary. Every peasant, every

village, every county, must remember that they must place above everything else, not their own interests, even though their interests have long been neglected, not the interests of the village, county, district or province, but the interests of the entire laboring class of Russia, of the entire peasantry, and finally, of Russia as a whole, for the peasant population and the factory workers, these two elements form the overwhelming majority in the country.

Besides the agricultural laborers and the city laborers, there is only the non-laboring element, whom the laboring masses must assimilate, take into their midst and transform into brother laborers. This cannot be done at once, but we must start immediately. That is why, comrades, this task must be the concern of all of us. The common interests must be placed above all private, all local interests. We must now forge and shape that common will among the toiling masses of Russia. If we succeed in shaping it, Russia is saved, even if we were confronted with difficulties two or three times greater than those we are at present facing. If our intentions are not sufficiently firm, to devote all our strength, our very soul and life to this cause, to consecrate all, to sacrifice all, if we lack this determination, let us rather not talk at all, but adjourn and set aside all discussion either of power or responsibility, as well as the question of the reconstruction of our laboring Russia. (Applause.)

Comrades! In thus viewing the problem, we have considered it as the most important task to create such a government where the representatives of the democratic labor elements might be able to suggest measures on their own initiative, and introduce their own resoluteness and daring, where these qualities are necessary, and firmness where it is imperative to be adamant to the last. We considered this an urgent task. The most important question before us was, of course, not the question of ministerial portfolios. There may be a few more or less of them, but that is immaterial. If we, as a small group, will rely ever more and more upon the continually growing labor masses, then those few people composing the group will gain colossal power, not because of our personal strength (for what is our personal strength!), they will be powerful through your and our collective power, through the organized might of the working class. (Applause.)

In our estimation, the most important, the most urgent, are the following three fundamental tasks of vital significance, standing forth in modern Russia: the burning and pressing interests of labor in the cities, a question which comes within the province of the Ministry of Labor; the interests of the agricultural laborers, a question with which the Ministry of Agriculture is confronted; and, finally, the common interests of labor, the question of supplying Russia with all the necessaries of life. The question of increasing the manufacture of articles produced in Russia at the present time, and seeing

to it that they reach the places where they are needed, that they be distributed throughout Russia as fairly as possible, is also of weight. Now it is these three tasks, the solution of the agricultural problem, the problem of the city laborers, and that of supplying Russia with all the necessaries of life, which stand out as the most important problems. These are such difficult posts, involving such responsibility and labor, that if the democratic labor elements should refuse to shoulder this task, they will have failed to do their duty.

The fourth question is that of our Army, which is becoming better organized at the bottom, which is founded on the basis of democratic, revolutionary labor principles. The movement having begun and gained much headway in Petrograd, which has carried on its shoulders the entire burden of the first decisive encounter, has grown, spreading from separate points to the entire Army at the front.

But this Army of the laborers, this All-Russian Army of peasants and workingmen, this Army of Russian soldiers, has, through the endeavors of the old regime, for centuries been driven along narrow paths, not of free democratic discipline, but the discipline imposed by those in command. In this respect the old Government did everything possible to estrange the officers from the soldiers and make the former strangers to the Army. The soldiers, in turn, became an unknown quantity to the officers. The old Government aspired, in such manner, to manage the Army through the officers. The autocracy has left us, as an inheritance, this two-storied structure, of which the lower and the upper stories can be combined only through the efforts of the democratic labor elements, through their representatives. They alone can destroy this partition, and transform the Army into a whole, moulded into shape by the united will of Russia. At the present time the country needs an Army with one united will; this concerted will must be, in the present crisis, the revolutionary will of the laboring masses.

It is only with the aid of such an Army that it is possible to carry on that great work in which we are at present engaged. This is a two-fold task. It consists in standing firmly, as an armed force, in guarding and defending the cause of the Revolution which successfully transpired in Russia, in defending the achievements of the Russian Revolution, and in standing firm at our posts, prepared to accept and to deal effective blows whenever necessary.

That is why, from my point of view, the first and main task, that of reorganizing the Army, the system of labor in the cities and in the rural districts, the matter of supplying Russia with the necessaries of life—all these fundamental but, withal, very difficult responsibilities must be assumed by us. When I say, by us, I do not mean us individually, but I have in mind all industrial labor, the peasants and the proletariat. (Applause.)

Comrades, we say that the test of our strength in the Provisional

Government is nothing else but the test of our strength in the country. The greater the growth of our strength in the country, the greater will be the strength of our representatives in the Provisional Government. The more your work of organizing the country develops, the more will the efforts of the Socialist portion of the Provisional Government meet with success.

Comrades, if you will now decide that the moment has come to start the work,—for you in the Provinces, for us in the Capitals,—if you decide this, if you send us there, we will remain as long as you stay at your posts, and as long as you let us remain in our places—if you decide all this, then it will remain for us to realize the imperative need, the one higher dictate of our conscience, to immediately commence work, and put all that there is best in our souls, in our minds, all our vital forces into this great and sacred cause in which we must either win or perish with honor." (Thundering applause.)

At the end of M. V. Chernov's speech, S. S. Maslov moved that Vera N. Figner be elected Honorary Chairman of the Congress. The motion was met with prolonged applause. N. D. Avksentiev, one of the leaders of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists and later Minister of Interior in Kerensky's Cabinet, was elected Chairman of the Congress.

In his introductory speech, N. D. Avksentiev declared that "the extensive rights received by the Russian people place upon them heavy responsibilities. It is in the interest of freedom that these responsibilities be met as fully as possible. The principal task of the moment is the strengthening of freedom and the constructive work in the Government"

N. D. Avksentiev announced the presence in the auditorium of the French Minister, Albert Thomas, and of the Minister of Agriculture, A. I. Shingariev. Both of them greeted the Congress.

THE next day, May 18, V. M. Chernov addressed the Congress as the new Minister of Agriculture in the Provisional Government.

Chernov's Second Speech

"In the very beginning," said V. M. Chernov, "Russia doubted whether the form of government selected by it would be suited to overcome all the difficulties left by the old regime.

Now it is a question of mustering all our forces for service, of

bringing order into every locality throughout the country, this ruined estate, the heritage of the Tzar's regime, the estate which was the Romanov patrimony and which is now our beloved, dear Fatherland. (Thundering applause.)

It is an enormous piece of work and should be undertaken with a knowledge of all our obligations. When every peasant, every village, every volost (district) will remember that they should place first not their own interests and not even those of their village, volost (district) or county, but the interests of the whole peasantry, the whole working class, and, finally, the interests of the whole of Russia—then we shall be fully successful, and Russia will be saved."

V. M. Chernov spoke further on the situation in the Army:

"Russia needs, at present, an army with a united iron will, and this will can and should be only that of the revolutionary toiling classes. Only with an army of this kind can an enormous undertaking like ours be carried on. This is a double undertaking: that of defending and protecting the Revolution, and of standing firm, ready to return to the enemy blow for blow. We must not forget that Russia is defending not only herself, but also all of humanity; she is defending the idea of a durable peace, and in this she should have the coöperation of the workers of all countries, even of those now at war with us." (Applause.)

The next speaker was the Minister of Supply, V. A. Peshekhonov. During his speech, A. F. Kerensky appeared in the auditorium. The entire assembly rose to greet him. V. A. Peshekhonov cut short his speech and gave the floor to Kerensky. Instantly there was absolute silence in the auditorium.

Kerensky's Speech

"Comrades-peasants," began A. F. Kerensky, "I have come here to-day, at the most beautiful but at the same time most difficult moment of Russia's history. I have come here as your Minister of the Army and Navy. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Our purpose, the purpose of the Provisional Government, is, in conformity with the will of the Russian people and in coöperation with the Russian people, to save everything given us by the Revolution—the land and freedom. (Thundering and prolonged applause.)

During the period of this great Revolution we must remember that we are not alone, for we have with us our old teachers. Here they are. (Kerensky pointed in the direction of the President and the officers.)

Comrades, soldiers, sailors, officers! I call you to the last heroic deed. I am your most humble servant. Show that the Russian Army is not a crumbling structure, not a conglomeration of people un-

willing to do anything, but an enormous, threatening force which will know how to gain respect for itself and how to defend the free Russian Democratic Republic. Show that Russia is not a country of autocratic adventurers, but a friendly family of free people who will be able to defend their freedom and their rights.

I was never connected with the military circles. It will perhaps seem strange to many that I, unfamiliar with military affairs, have taken upon myself these special military problems, but I have undertaken them and I hope to carry them to a solution.

I intend to establish an iron discipline in the Army; I am certain I shall succeed in my undertaking, because it will be a discipline based on duty towards the country, the duty of honor. Its aim will be to safeguard the right of the Russian people to independence and liberty at home.

By all means, we must see that the country becomes free and strong enough to elect the Constituent Assembly, the Assembly which, through its sovereign, absolute power, will give to the Russian toiling peasants that for which they have been yearning for centuries, the land.

I am certain that the Council of the Russian land—the representatives of the toiling peasantry—will assert their will and declare that they want no repetition of the sad events of 1905-1906, when the entire country seemed already in our hands, but slipped out because it became involved in anarchy. The result of discord in our country was that the ruling classes gave themselves up to P. A. Stolypin, the furious enemy of Democracy. Do not repeat this blunder. Be careful and do not trust to cheap and irresponsible slogans, for they are likely to drag you into an abyss. Trust those who have always been with you and in the dark years of autocracy were not afraid to tell the truth to their enemies. If those people are now telling you to wait, that means that they want to give you all, not to leave you with a broken trough.

We are afraid of no demagogues, whether they come from the right or from the left. (Applause.) Quietly and firmly we shall attend to our business, which is the business of the whole of free Russia.

I intend to go to the front shortly. Allow me to tell those who are now in the trenches that the Russian peasants want land and freedom and will give them up to no one. Let me also say that everyone must remain there and perform his duty to the end."

The close of A. F. Kerensky's speech was lost in loud, enthusiastic applause, which turned into a grand ovation.

The members of the Congress left their seats and surrounded the platform. One of the Delegates, a knight of the Order of St. George, put an armchair on the platform and asked

A. F. Kerensky to allow himself to be raised on their hands. This request the soldier followed up with: "You are our leader and we swear to go wherever you lead us."

One of the outstanding moments in the session of the Congress, on May 20, was the report by Dr. Smirnov, a physician, who had just returned from the German prison camp. Dr. Smirnov's report made a deep impression upon the Peasants' Delegates.

Dr. Smirnov's Speech

"I call you now dear brothers," said Dr. Smirnov, "but for thirty months which I spent in suffering in the German war prison camps I could not say that. You alone can defend us, you have the strength and the opportunity to improve the situation of our unfortunate war prisoners. The sufferings of our comrades are terrible. About two million of our peasants and workers are in German captivity; about 500,000 lie in the ground already; and if we do not help those that are alive, we physicians think that only one-half of these two million will return to Russia. They are exhausted by overwork and by hunger; they do not get enough bread.

They are exhausted by overwork because they are compelled to work without food, twelve, fifteen, twenty-five and thirty-six hours without stopping, because their strength is drawn out of them to the point of inexpressible suffering. I worked in the labor battalions shifted from the heart of Germany to the front, where there is no control over the German treatment of war prisoners, and I can say that the sufferings of our soldiers are great; they are being beaten with sticks and bayonets; they are hung on trees and crucified. If a prisoner falls, exhausted, he is plunged for several hours in cold water in order to revive his strength; then he gets up and under sticks pulls together the remnants of his strength and works, because our average Russian is used to great exertion. And when he again becomes exhausted and falls, they resort to other methods. They raise him, point bayonets under his nose and make him stand in this way. (Voices: "Shame! Kultur beasts!") They are compelled to work for Germany's defense against Russia and against our Allies. When the Russian prisoner becomes completely exhausted he is brought to the hospital, unable to say a word, almost dead; after two days the prisoner is dead.

When we were leaving, the war prisoners said: 'Tell the people in Russia to give us bread.' They also said: 'Let them gather a force which would defend and protect us so that we could return home in good health.' This desire became particularly keen when we heard that you were free and that a new order had been established.

After a thirty months' stay in those cellars, we hear that you are at ease and in good health, and to our regret you know nothing about what is going on over there, among the war prisoners. I want you to understand that every time there was a heavy blow struck by our soldiers at the front, we, war prisoners, felt a certain relief, because the German considers force only. (Enthusiastic applause.) The German takes into account the blow only. (Enthusiastic applause.)

I wanted to see the German Socialists, my brothers and comrades, for I am a Socialist myself, but let me tell you that I made a mistake. I tell you, do not believe, there is no fraternity over there yet. Brothers are those who were kept behind barbed wire, those who were in prison and like Liebknecht, are still there. There is no fraternity so far in Germany. (Vehement applause.)

This is the message and the sorrowful request of your comrades and the greetings to you, free people, from our soldiers tormented in captivity." (Applause.)

At the session of May 23, I. I. Bunakov, one of the leaders of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, made a speech, in the name of the presiding officers of the Congress, with regard to the war. His speech, expressing undoubtedly the spirit of the entire assembly, was enthusiastically applauded. The Congress decided to print his speech in millions of copies for distribution in the Army. A similar decision was arrived at in regard to Kerensky's speech.

Bunakov's Speech

"The war is hanging over us like a cloud," began I. I. Bunakov. "Open any book of history, and, if you turn all its leaves, you will find no darker pages than those of the history of our three-year war. In two years about four and one-half million men were lost, eleven million wounded; of these, three and one-half million became cripples and invalids; and all, the flower of humanity, its young, life-giving forces! All the European wars combined that were fought between 1790 and 1914 did not take such a number of human victims as this cursed war. Look at the map; it is all covered with blood; even the few countries which have not been drawn into the whirlpool of the war are also submerged in blood. I draw these pictures not for the purpose of frightening you. No war is advantageous to the workers, and we must exert all our efforts to stop it. If the toiling masses do not want to drown in a sea of blood, they must stop the war. (Loud applause.)

Our present Minister of Post and Telegraph, Tseretelli, under the old order, was a convict, sentenced to hard labor and deprived of all civil and political rights; the present Minister of Agriculture,

Chernov, spent ten years in exile. Not long ago violence and lawlessness reigned in Russia; national discord, scaffolds and executions were exceedingly common. No other country in the world marches under the banner of Socialism, but Russia, the most backward of them, waves the red banner before the whole world. Can this march take place simultaneously with the war? The fight between the fire of the Russian Revolution and the icy stream of the war is precisely our Democracy's fight. The whole Russian Revolution is explained by the various stages of the fight for peace, fight against war. At present there are Socialists in the Russian Government, they are in a minority, but they are backed by our support and influence and by that of the All-Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. Right now your decisive word is being awaited. I can say beforehand that the Russian peasantry will not remain behind the proletariat, but, having combined with it, will fight for peace and will follow the course taken by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

I suggest that the All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Delegates issue an appeal to the peasantry the world over, and state that the peasants go hand in hand with the workers and soldiers, that they are fighting for the land and that they summon to this fight the toiling peasants the world over. We must also state that we want peace, not peace at any price, but a just and durable peace. We want a peace without annexations or indemnities."

In explaining the meaning of these words, I. I. Bunakov pointed out the need of insisting upon the restoration of Serbia and Belgium.

"We must also demand," continued Bunakov, "that ruined Poland be united, according to her people's wish; that the people of Alsace-Lorraine be permitted to freely state whether they wish to remain with Germany or to join France, and that independence be given to Armenia. But how shall we obtain a just peace? I must admit that there is one way of obtaining an early peace, and that is—a separate peace. (Voices: "No!")

But such a peace is unacceptable to peasants. A separate peace would kill not only our Revolution, but the cause of the social revolution the world over. A separate peace is dishonor for Russia and treason towards the Allies. Therefore, since we cannot conclude a separate peace, only one thing is left, and that is—to continue the war. We must start an offensive. To remain in the trenches without moving is a separate truce, more shameful even than a separate peace. A separate truce demoralizes the Army and ruins the people. This spring, according to our agreement with the Allies, we should have begun a general offensive, but instead of that we concluded a separate truce. The Allies saved the Russian Revolution, but they are becoming ex-

hausted; the Germans, however, are transferring their troops from the Eastern to the Western front. This state of a separate truce, in which our Army is at present resting, cannot continue. This will ruin the Revolution; some Napoleon will appear and establish a dictatorship.

Comrades! We are on the threshold of a democratic republic. We are near the possession of our land. But, if we allow Germany to overcome the Allies, she will throw herself on us, after she is through with the Allies and will crush our freedom. Let the Army and the peasants be at ease about the land, because at the head of the Ministry of Agriculture is a Socialist, Chernov, who will give to no one else the land belonging to the toiling people, who will not permit anybody to appropriate the land before the war is over. Therefore, when our Minister of War, Kerensky, speaks of starting an offensive, the Russian Army must support him with all its strength, with all the means available. All our inspiration, all our will we must put into an appeal for an offensive. From here we should send our delegates to the front, and urge our Army to wage an offensive. Let the Army know that it must fight and die for Russia's freedom, for the peace of the whole world and for the coming Socialist commonwealth.

AT the session of May 25, the Assistant Minister of War, Colonel Jakubovich, made the following speech, explaining the situation in the Russian Army and the point of view of the Provisional Government regarding the military operations.

Col. Jakubovich's Speech

"I came here," said Col. Jakubovich, "to explain what the Provisional Government understands by the word 'offensive.' It renounces all seizures and indemnities. To do so, but at the same time not start an offensive, means to ruin the Russian Revolution and to injure the cause of freedom the world over.

Our opponents have a very poor opinion of the Russian Army and they are certain that the Army is disorganized and incapable of an offensive. The Minister of War is well posted on what transpires in the enemy's camp. They transferred not only men, but even cannons. What will be the result of this? We must understand that if the Allies will be crushed, Germany will not fail to take advantage of us also. Therefore, the only way of helping the Allies is an offensive.

Another question is how to start the offensive. We can start it only when the Army will be well equipped and moved by a strong, wholesome war spirit.

As regards ammunition, the Russian Army is well supplied. In the three years of the war the Russian Army never had as much ammunition as it has now. We have an ample supply for the next six months, if not longer; we have so much of it that the Ministry of War has decided to stop the manufacture of munitions in many factories in order to allow the preparation of agricultural machines to meet the demand of the farmers. We have enough cannons, large quantities of machine-guns, and more than enough shells and other articles necessary for the war.

Especially great is the suffering at the front, due to lack of food supplies. Numerous cases of scurvy have occurred because of underfeeding. There is no fodder. It is enough to say that in many places the horses receive one pound of oats a day. Only the grass on the ground will perhaps partly save the horses. How shall we avert hunger in the future? The only way is to bring supplies from the rear. The Government of free Russia cannot resort to the measures of the old regime, and therefore the Government considers it its duty to demand your help. Alone it is helpless, and from you, citizens, it demands that you persuade the peasants to supply the Russian Army with bread and fodder.

The condition of the transportation system is still worse. Our soldier-comrades are using the railroads in a merciless way. You know what disorders are now taking place on the railroad stations. With rifles in their hands the soldiers compel the station masters to give them fast trains. There was a case on one railroad where soldiers themselves dispatched a train on tracks on which another train was approaching. Painful as it is, I must say that we receive daily hundreds of telegrams complaining of shocking incidents. On several occasions train masters and railroad employees were thrown out of car windows while the train was in motion. Only yesterday the Provisional Government decided to establish special courts on railroads and to put at their disposal armed military detachments. Perhaps in this way we shall be able to put an end to these outrages. But here again your support and your authoritative voice are necessary.

Finally, for an offensive, fighters are needed, for the Army has become smaller in size, its ranks have thinned; and no offensive can be undertaken with a reduced army.

I must state that at the front in some companies that formerly contained 250 men, there are now seventy and in some only forty left. With such companies, as you yourselves understand, no offensive can be undertaken.

At the same time there is an abundance of man-power in Russia. You know how frequently desertions occur in the Army; but the Provisional Government is helpless against them. Energetic measures are necessary because appeals alone can accomplish nothing.

And the Provisional Government demands your assistance in its struggle with desertion. You must find measures which will touch the deserters in their most sensitive spots. Tell us how to put an end to this dreadful evil and in our turn we shall help you in whatever way possible.

Desertion is an occurrence which we cannot help noticing. I can give you no exact figures right now, but the number of deserters amounts to several millions. Aside from the open deserters among officers and soldiers, there are also about a million unrecognized deserters. They hide themselves under various pretexts. (Shouts: "Disgrace! Disgrace!")

This outrage cannot be brought to an end. There are in the rear both soldiers and officers who have intrenched themselves. I must tell you that yesterday I demanded a list of all officers in the rear; and all those absent from the front will be sent back in the next few days. In general, the War Ministry will be able to handle the situation successfully.

What should be done with the soldiers intrenched in the rear? They are behind a double line of trenches and the War Ministry cannot get hold of them without your support and aid.

I must call your attention also to another abnormal circumstance. At present all defend themselves by generalities, their favorite argument being that of personal liberty. As a result of this we have soldiers who, although called in 1914, were never in the trenches. They speak well; for this reason they succeeded in being elected to executive committees and to commissions of various military and social organizations. And there, under the cloak of freedom, they have arranged their affairs to their satisfaction. Is it impossible to send to those committees equally capable soldiers who were already in the trenches and had a taste of powder?

From everywhere we receive telegrams that men are missing. Delegates come daily to the Ministry of War and demand that soldiers be sent. But what is the result? Out of a thousand men sent to the Western front only 150 to 250 get there. And I ask what can the Government do without you to put an end to this outrage? Other disgraceful incidents take place. A company sent to the front made a demand like this, at one of the railroad stations: 'Take us the way we want to go, and not where you are sending us.' Their way was through Minsk, but they demanded to be sent through Kiev.

You see what is going on in the Army. I am not prescribing any remedy for this incredible evil. Your wisdom will tell you what must be done; and the Ministry of War awaits the voice of the representatives of the free land, the voice of the peasantry."

THE main resolution adopted by the Congress dealt with the agrarian problem. Over one thousand Delegates participated in the voting. Two Delegates voted against it. The resolution follows:

"The All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Delegates announces to the entire Russian peasantry that henceforth not only the final solution of the agrarian problem in the Constituent Assembly, but also all the preparatory work to be done by the local and central Land Commissions passes into the hands of the working people themselves. For this reason the first, most important and most responsible task of the more progressive part of the peasantry is the organization of elections to the volost and district Zemstvos and the establishment of Land Commissions in connection with these Zemstvos. The work of these Commissions in the preparation of land reforms is to be based on the following principles: the transfer of all lands now belonging to the State, monasteries, churches and private persons into the possession of the nation, for equitable and free use by agricultural workers.

Firmly believing in the growing strength, organization and intelligence of the toiling peasantry, the All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Delegates is deeply convinced that private ownership of land with its forests, water power and mineral resources will be abolished by the Constituent Assembly, which will establish a fundamental law as regards the land, the conditions of its transfer to the workers and its distribution for use.

The All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Delegates is also convinced that in all Land Commissions from that of the volost to the central or National Commission, the working peasantry, taking advantage of the elective system, will see to it that all the preparatory work for the agrarian reform be carried out with the object of emancipating the land from the bonds of private property, without any compensation to the former owners.

The All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Delegates expects the Provisional Government to assist, as far as possible, in the free expression of the working people's opinion on the important problem of reorganization now confronting Russia, and to prevent all attempts at interference with this work by persons who put their personal and party interests above those of the country.

The All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Delegates urges the Provisional Government to issue an absolutely clear and unequivocal statement which would show that on this question the Provisional Government will allow nobody to oppose the people's will.

The All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Delegates has decided:

(1) The necessity of settling the food supply crisis and of a successful struggle with the economic disorder throughout the coun-

try, in this hour of an oppressive and exhausting world war, imperatively demand that all private and party interests yield to the higher interests of the whole people and the State.

(2) In view of this, all land, without exception, must be given over to the control of the Land Commissions; and they should work out regulations for cultivation, sowing, harvesting, hay gathering, etc.

(3) Because of the drafting for war service of an enormous number of workers and their extreme scarcity in the harvest season, it is necessary that all able-bodied workers be put at the disposal of the above Land Committees and be distributed not to the advantage of individuals, but in the interests of all the toiling population.

(4) In view, partly of the lack and partly of the worn-out condition of the agricultural machinery, the most energetic measures are necessary for the requisitioning and putting to use, on a coöperative basis, of all agricultural machines available in Russia and for the calling of men familiar with their use. Also in view of the number of peasants' horses requisitioned and the extreme scarcity of live farm stock, it is necessary to utilize the live stock to be found outside of farms.

(5) Hay gathering, harvesting, storing of grain, fishing, preparation of timber, fire-wood and other materials derived from forests must be put under the control of the Land Commissions or other governmental organizations, in order to prevent individual hoarding of the greatly needed supplies or plundering the natural resources of the land.

(6) The fixing of terms for leasing land, and of the method of paying thereunder, also the fixing of wages for agricultural workers and similar questions must be given over entirely to the local Land Commissions. In disputed cases, the rent is to be kept in the local State treasury.

(7) Until the introduction of national reforms, the local Land Commissions shall be allowed complete freedom of initiative and activity; for this purpose all restraining control on the part of provincial and district commissaries must be eliminated, particularly one-sided selection of their staffs from among the land-owning class.

(8) For the purpose of conserving intact the land, and all properties belonging thereto, a strict, incontrovertible order is necessary, prohibiting, until the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, all buying, selling, mortgaging and inheriting of land; this order to be enforced by the Land Commissions.

The All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Delegates considers that only under such conditions is the creation of a new agrarian order possible, an order which would be worthy of free Russia, and which would unite into one fraternal family, under one national roof, all toilers of the land, without distinction of nationality, religion or class—the inhabitant of great Russia and the inhabitant of the

Ukraine, the Christian and the Mohammedan, the peasant and the Cossack, the native Russian and the member of a foreign tribe; each of them will feel the beneficial consequences of the great reform and will bless it.

Recognizing this, the All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Deputies invites the whole peasantry to calm, but determined and steadfast work for the realization, in a legal manner, of those fond hopes of the toiling farmer which long since have been expressed in the slogan dear to each peasant, 'Land and Freedom.'"

The Congress decided in favor of the following special appeal to the population:

"The All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Delegates appeals to the peasants and the whole wage-earning population of Russia to vote, at the elections to the Constituent Assembly, only for those candidates who pledge themselves to advocate the nationalization of the land without reimbursement and on principles of equality."

At the end of its sittings the Congress elected an Executive Committee. The following were elected:

V. M. Chernov, by 810 votes; Ekaterina Constantinovna Breshko-Breshkovskaya, 809; A. F. Kerensky, 804; N. D. Avksentiev, 799; I. I. Bunakov, 790; I. A. Rubanovsky, 778; V. N. Figner, 776; P. V. Vikhliaev, 770; N. N. Sokolov, 769; N. A. Bikhovsky, 769; N. D. Kondratiev, 758; S. S. Maslov, 745; M. V. Vishniak, 736; S. L. Maslov, 730; V. A. Kilchevski, 729; V. K. Volski, 726; G. Pokrovsky, 718; V. A. Gurevich, 710; N. V. Tchaykovsky, 708; G. A. Martiushin, 706; A. P. Gotz, 693; I. E. Piyanikh, 688; M. E. Berezin, 682; N. P. Oganovsky, 676; V. I. Dziubinski, 675; V. A. Miakstin, 650; V. M. Nikitin, 622; P. A. Sorokin, 527; A. E. Teslia, 497, and I. P. Pasekhny, 423.

Among the candidates defeated in the election were: A. V. Peshekhonov, 21; Lenine, 20; Skobelev, 15; G. V. Plekhanov, 14; Maria Spiridonova, 7; Tseretelli, 6; M. Gorky, 8; P. V. Ivanov-Rasumnik, 20; P. A. Kropotkin, 305, and others.

According to party affiliation, the Delegates were distributed as follows: Socialists-Revolutionists, 537; Social-Democrats, 103; Non-Partisan, 136; People's Socialists, 4; Labor Group, 6.

N. D. Avksentiev was unanimously elected Chairman of the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Delegates, and G. A. Martiushin and I. I. Bunakov (Fundaminski)—Vice-Chairmen.

CHAPTER VII

The Middle Class in its Relation to the War and to the Reconstruction of Russia

WHILE the workingmen, the soldiers and the peasants did not lose time in organizing their forces and expressing their views, the middle class had organized its own conventions, and the same fundamental problems in Russia's life were being discussed there, from another angle. The body which best expressed the sentiments of the Russian middle class, at that moment of the Russian Revolution, was the Duma, which from time to time held its private sessions, under the leadership of M. V. Rodzianko. The sentiments of the representatives of the middle class in the Army were expressed at the All-Russian Convention of Officers' Delegates.*

Of the Duma sessions we must mention especially the one held on May 17, immediately after the resignation of P. N. Miliukov and A. I. Guchkov. The speeches made by the resigned Ministers, the speech that followed, by V. A. Maklakov, later Ambassador to France, and the concluding statement by M. V. Rodzianko, we will quote, in their most important parts.

Guchkov's Speech

"I am glad to have the opportunity of rendering my account to you, for the Executive Committee of the Duma is one of those public authorities which vested our group of social leaders with the governmental power so necessary for the bringing out of our country from the state of anarchy in which it found itself, after the overthrow of the former Government.

I have been reproached for having taken this step on my own responsibility, without warning my fellow-members of the Government, and for having destroyed, in a way, the solidarity among the members. This was not the case. A week or ten days before my resignation, I definitely said to Prince G. E. Lvov and to my colleagues, that under the conditions affecting the governmental power, in general, and the power of the Minister of the Army and Navy, in particular,

*During the two and a half years of war before the Revolution, almost all the trained officers of the old school, especially in the middle and lower ranks, had been killed or disabled. The new officers came from the ranks of the "intelligentsia" and from the middle class.

I found it impossible to remain, and that my further remaining in the Cabinet, which almost meant a prolongation of the crisis, was in my opinion working considerable harm.

On the evening before my resignation, at a meeting at Prince G. E. Lvov's house, I repeated that I was going to resign, and in reply to the question as to when, I stated that I would do so that evening. There is a limit to solidarity among colleagues. This limit is reached when the individual conscience begins to speak. And in that case the voice of the conscience should be listened to.

We, representatives of the Government, may be compared with those pilots, who, tied hand and foot and pulled and pushed continuously, are compelled to steer a vessel along its regular course. It is obvious that under such circumstances the vessel will go to the bottom. Under such conditions the pilot has a right to say: 'Those whose hands are free should themselves take the rudder and steer.' I was compelled to resign because I was absolutely unable to fulfil my duty under the attendant circumstances and I did not wish to create a dangerous illusion of the existence of something non-existent. I surrendered my authority simply because I had none.

The anarchy which has entered the system and become a method of administration, this anarchy has influenced painfully and destructively the large and complex body of the Army and Navy.

In the way of reforms, the new Government has gone very far. Not even in the most democratic country have the principles of self-government, freedom and equality been so extensively applied in military life. We have gone somewhat farther than the dangerous limit, and the impetuous current drives us farther still. And beyond that begins not the construction of the Army on new principles, but the inevitable process of destruction.

I could not consent to this destructive work, I could not sign my name to orders and laws, which in my opinion would lead towards a rapid deterioration of our military forces. A country, and especially an army, cannot be administered on the principles of meetings and conferences.

Whether the new Government will be able to master the situation, I do not know. Let us hope it will, and, in any case, let us assist it. But I must express my fears whether the fatal destructive process has not gone too far, and whether we will be able to stop it. Shall we be able to create and strengthen healthy currents, shall we be able to get rid of these effluvia which hang over the present situation as over a putrid swamp? In any case, we should not lose faith in our country, as long as there is life.

But we must admit that the situation is dangerous to the highest degree, and the danger is not only in our terrible military situation, but also in the fact that the poison of anarchism, having polluted our governmental power and having undermined the vital forces of our

Army, has penetrated into all the pores of our social and economic life and has impaired or disorganized all the functions of the national body.

Gentlemen, I prophesy that if we are not able to control this destructive process in the most important domain, in that of the economic and social relations, Russia will rapidly weaken and perish. To-day's problem is the creation of a firm and constructive governmental power.

One may regard as one pleases the governmental combination now being formed, one may sympathize with it or one may regard it with a certain melancholic scepticism. But, in any case, this combination is a natural, and I would say, inevitable stage in that salutory evolution of strong power without which a collapse of the State is inevitable.

But, gentlemen, whatever our attitude to this new combination, one thing is certain: we all must support, with all our power, the Government which has been formed again after such a long and painful process. Our duty to the country demands that all support this Government, because our support will make it strong, and only a strong Government can save the country from the anarchy which, if it spreads further, will bring our country to ruin." (Prolonged applause.)

A. I. Guchkov was followed by Prof. Paul N. Miliukov, who was received with an ovation.

Miliukov's Speech

"My explanations as to the immediate causes of my resignation," said P. N. Miliukov, "will be more specific than those made by A. I. Guchkov. As regards our duty to the Provisional Government, my political friends and I considered that we could not leave it ourselves, that only by force could we be compelled to do so, that our own resignation would be wrong. You know that after my withdrawal, there are fellow party members still left in the Provisional Government. The question which was put before me in such a decisive manner as to compel me to go, came from another source. I said publicly also that I would resign only if compelled by force, and I could not foresee that event. I had to resign, yielding not to force, but to the wish of a considerable majority of my colleagues. With a clear conscience I can say that I did not leave on my own account, but was compelled to leave. My conscience is clear, I remained at my post until my colleagues said: 'Leave the post; it is needed now for other purposes.'

You could see for yourselves that my activity in foreign politics was in accord with your ideas. (Cries: "Correct!" and loud applause.) This activity was carried on in a manner considered by you all as necessary for the vital interests of Russia, in the present world strug-

gle. (Voices: "Correct!") My opponents kept saying that together with the Revolution, this sharp turn-about in our domestic life, a similar Revolution or abrupt change should take place in our foreign relations; they also said that our former diplomacy was characteristic of the Tzar's regime and that a new diplomacy should take its place now. I tried to explain that in the sphere of foreign relations the situation differs from that in the domestic affairs. My basis was that we had no diplomacy of the Tzar or diplomacy of the Provisional Government, but a diplomacy towards our Allies, a diplomacy which guides us together with the Allies.

In our agreement with the Allies we defined just what advantages should be the compensation for our common efforts and what consequences are necessary for the vital interests of each of us and for the common good.

Thus, there was no diplomacy of the Tzar, but a diplomacy of the Allies, and we are bound with our Allies, whether for sorrow or for joy, and we are morally obliged to stay with them to the end.

We thought that this union of ours was sealed with the millions of men lost by all the Allied countries, and that it could not be renounced by the one-sided decision of any of us. This was the reason I thought that the changes that have taken place in our domestic life only meant that at present we can say, with a clear conscience, openly and freely, those things which formerly were spoken, not by all, but by the representatives in the Duma.

This was the way I understood my task and also the way our Allies understood the attitude of the new Russian Government towards them. With the appearance of your obedient servant in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, they knew that Russia would not fail to fulfill her obligations and to achieve the aims which she has put before herself.

We were constantly saying that the former Government was unable to organize the country for victory. This, precisely, was the immediate aim of our participation in the Revolution, and naturally we thought that those results would follow for which, to a great extent, this Revolution was made. This was the way I understood my task in foreign politics.

For a considerable length of time I thought that my foreign policy was completely approved by my fellow-members of the Provisional Government.

But after some time it became evident that another theory had been brought in from the outside, a theory based on the opinion of an insignificant minority of foreign Socialists, who, before the outbreak of the war, had decided to prevent it, and after the war began had sought to stop it. According to these people, the war was started by capitalists, its aims were imperialistic, the tasks of the proletariat were, therefore, to force their respective governments to

Underwood & Underwood

PROF. P. N. MILIUKOV

Minister of Foreign Affairs in the First Provisional Government

tinue to criticise those who have entered, and it is possible that the Socialists who entered the Cabinet will find themselves confronted with the same storm of criticism as did the Government prior to the entry of the Socialists. But, in any case, right now we shall undoubtedly have a stronger Government.

Perhaps still more important is another aim, that is, to change the spirit of the Army, which interpreted all these pacifist tendencies and appeals as being equivalent to an actual truce, making it, therefore, unnecessary to fight. The Army apparently decided that since we renounced territorial acquisitions, there is no reason to fight. It was impossible to change this attitude during the first Government, in which the soldiers did not have sufficient confidence. On the contrary, the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates enjoys the full confidence of the rank and file of the soldiers, and when we were asked to suggest a way of making the soldiers understand that even the task of defense is not limited to defense in a narrow sense, but also includes offensive action, we replied: 'Ask the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates to issue an appeal to that effect and the soldiers will accept it with confidence.' Naturally, a Ministry comprising representatives of parties supported by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates can achieve this aim.

In spite of the cautious attitude towards war maintained by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, to-morrow's declaration will state that offensive action may be resumed, that Russia's defeat would be dangerous for the Revolution itself, that the war must be continued, even if its aims are as narrow and limited as those formulated by the successful movement. For the present moment this is the most important thing to be achieved.

No matter what beautiful pronouncements of friendship we address to our Allies, if our Army remains inactive, we shall be considered as traitors; on the other hand, no matter what terrible statements we make, betraying our lack of loyalty, if our Army is really fighting, we are in fact fulfilling our obligations to our Allies. This justifies the creation of a coalition Cabinet.

In this way I consider, in general, that the formation of a coalition Cabinet is a positive act, that in any case it will allow us to hope for the achievement of the two most important aims of the present time, namely, the strengthening of the Government and the raising of the Army's spirit. And, in so far as these aims will be achieved, we must support the newly-formed Provisional Government."

Miliukov's speech was followed by prolonged applause. The following speech, by V. A. Maklakov, later Ambassador to France, was listened to, throughout, with undivided attention.

Maklakov's Speech

"It seems to me that our situation is so clear, the diagnosis made is so incontestable and even the methods of treatment offered us are so certain, that there is almost nothing left for us to discuss. The situation is, of course, very tragic. But, gentlemen, in whatever form we put the basic thought, whether we repeat Kerensky's words, paraphrasing the old words of I. Aksakov, who once exclaimed in sorrow: 'You are not children of freedom, you are slaves in rebellion!' whether we use the diplomatic language of the Provisional Government, which said that existing social relations are destroyed more rapidly than new ones are established,—no matter what language we use, one principal thought underlies all our words, and that is, that Russia has shown herself unworthy of the freedom she has gained! (Voices: "Right!")

This will be said about us if the threatened proves true; because, though we may analyze single mistakes made by various classes, parties, individuals, though we may say that the Provisional Government has shown too little power and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates too much of it, though we may bitterly lament, as I do, the Provisional Government's failure to understand, at the proper time, the valuable support it could have had from the Duma, though we may say that the Provisional Government did not understand the significance of the dissolution of the Duma and of the substitution for it of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, though we rebuke some of those who have spoken, and still more many of those who remained silent, we shall not get along in Russia either without the bourgeoisie, or without the proletariat. Everything will be taken into consideration, and the final verdict may be this: On the day of the Revolution Russia received more freedom than she could stand, and Russia was ruined by the Revolution. This is what people may say, and when they will curse the Revolution, they will also curse those who brought it about. And it is up to us to prevent our being cursed that way, because after all, the members of the National Duma are connected with the Revolution.

The thought that Russia may prove unworthy of the freedom she obtained made Kerensky regret that he had not died earlier; for others, however, this thought will not be a disappointment, but a confirmation of their earlier bitter apprehensions.

Gentlemen, I want to tell the whole truth. We, of the National Duma, were more than once accused from the benches of the left of not wanting any Revolution. Yes, this was true. We wanted no Revolution during the war. We feared that this task of changing the governmental and social conditions, and of simultaneously bringing the war to a successful conclusion was beyond the powers of any people. But a time came when all realized the impossibility of

bringing the war to a victorious end under the old order, and those who believed that Revolution would be a disaster, decided that it was their duty and their purpose to save Russia from a Revolution from below by bringing about an overthrowal from above. This task was confronting us, but we failed to perform it, and if posterity will curse the Revolution, it will also curse those who failed to understand the means by which it could have been prevented.

But the Revolution came from below; the people received a full measure of all kinds of liberties. There was never a country where this was not accompanied by excesses, there was never a time when Revolution was born painlessly. It is too late now to lament; we must look for means of getting rid of the excesses and of preventing their further occurrence. We see a mass of bad instincts come to light; we see reluctance to work, unwillingness to recognize one's duty to the country; we see that during this atrocious war our country is engaging in festivities, meetings and discussions, that the country is renouncing the Government and unwilling to obey it. I speak of Russia as a whole, of all its component parts. What is there to be done? What will happen if these forces prove stronger than a wholesome Government? It is clear that no Government will then withstand them. The Government which will not show too much indulgence to their instincts will be overthrown by these huge forces; the Government will go more and more to the left, while the country will turn to the right. The country will be faced by the spectre and horror of anarchy, the horror of national disgrace, and those leaders who will fail to understand this will regard it as a counter-revolution and they will combat it as cruelly and mercilessly as the old power formerly fought us.

The Government turns more and more to the left, while the country goes to the right, and the Government will be left without the country's support and it will collapse like the old regime on the day when the historic Nemesis comes. This will happen, if the people, that Russian people which has developed the Russian State, will fail to foresee where it is being dragged, will fail to see the precipice which it is approaching, will be unable to prefer the harsh truth to flattery and servility, will be unable, despite the instinct of self-preservation, to stop even though at the verge of the precipice. If Russia stops there, she is a great Russia worthy of freedom; if she tumbles over, the people will get their desserts.

However, the attitudes of various people towards this experiment differ. Some look with horror at the course Russia is about to take, and in silence stand aside waiting for everything to be over; others, perhaps, are rejoicing at the country's misfortune. Even among the members of the parties of the right there are now some

who favor defeat, saying that Russia's defeat would be her salvation. But we, of the National Duma, cannot take a position like that. We are told from the left: 'The Revolution was brought about not by the bourgeoisie, but by the soldiers and the proletariat.' Gentlemen, in an instant of joy and pride they can deny us the honor of bringing about the Revolution, but they cannot deprive us of the responsibility we feel for it. If on February 27 the National Duma had not risen against the Government, the Revolution would not have lived until evening. The Duma understood on that day that her participation in the movement was a question of honor. The Duma knew that she was taking the course leading towards Revolution, and, in the name of patriotism and the salvation of Russia, she overthrew the old power. She knew that it was with confidence in her that the soldiers came to the Taurida Palace, she had to understand that if an attack on the soldiers had followed, the guilt would have fallen on our heads.

We had to venture this last stake; we understood that if the Revolution failed, we would perish together with the soldiers, and if it succeeded, it would be our common achievement. This is why the National Duma cannot renounce her offspring, and her aim is to remain with it until the last possible moment, to remain with the new order until the new order turns against her. It may turn against us, it may crush us, but we will remain with it as long as we can believe that it serves Russia. We have seen here that some of our fellow-Ministers considered it their duty to withdraw from the Government. I say that they were right, and I shall say nothing more about it. But there is another question before us, and that is, can we desert this Government? Can we turn our backs to it and maintain a position of neutrality?"

"Of course, not," remarked the Chairman, M. V. Rodzianko.

"I am glad that the retiring Ministers have themselves called us to assist the Government, I am glad there is no difference of opinion on that and that we all can say to this Government: 'You have taken up a heavy burden; whether you will be successful or not, we do not know, but we will remain with you as long as you carry this burden.'

Among the problems confronting the Government and awaiting solution, there are two of equal importance. In the first place, the Government should free us from the disgrace of our failure to continue the war while still in alliance with the other countries, and of our almost treacherous forsaking of those who helped us in difficult times; we must carry on the war and not discuss conditions of peace. And at present our only duty, evasion of which will make us ashamed to face the people abroad, our duty is to fight, and when all the forces have been transferred to the Western Front, our duty is to start an offensive. (Enthusiastic applause.) That is what we should do

And I am glad to say that the Government understands this fully; it has for its object to prepare the Army for an offensive, and considers it its duty to move the Army forward. And as long as the Government has not given up this thought, I shall not argue with it about terms of peace. I shall not emphasize the differences of opinion which may arise in our definition of war aims. I shall say to our people and to the Allies: 'We have gone forward; we are not slackers, not deserters; we fight by your side.' A Government doing so is fulfilling its most important duty.

The second problem, gentlemen, is this: In order to enable the Army to fight and to start an offensive, the country must have order. As long as there is no Government and no order, only disintegration can result.

There has been no authority until now; I shall not discuss the causes of it, but it is a fact that there has not been any, for there is no authority as long as acts of lawlessness are committed, acts which were not dreamed of under the former regime, and as long as wholesale robberies and plunder pass under the protection of anarchism. But the new Government has promised us to establish authority.

The salvation of the international honor of Russia and the salvation of Russia as a State comprise the whole program of the present; in this consists the duty of the Government, and this also is our demand.

And, therefore, gentlemen, I say that the diagnosis is evident, and so are the methods of treatment. It is clear that the Government cannot put before itself any other program; it is also clear that we can have no other policy, except all possible assistance to the Government, both as individuals and as members of the Duma as a whole. It is also certain that if Russia's salvation is possible, this will be our last stake. But, if in spite of the support received from all sides, this reconstructed Government, representing the whole people, will still fail to save Russia, if even then Wilhelm crushes us, and the soldiers, in obedience to Lenine, fall back, if even then anarchy will continue to destroy everything,—then, gentlemen, no matter what language we use, no matter where we try to place the guilt, no matter how each one of us tries to exonerate himself, posterity will curse our time, our Revolution and all those associated with it. (Loud applause.)

We know, and so does everybody else, the price of the final stake on Russia. This is known to everybody to whom Russia is dear. As to those to whom Russia is not so dear, let them also know the price of the stake on the Revolution, for when this stake is laid the fate of both Russia and the Revolution is decided.

Beware that a time will ever come when there will be in the mind of everyone another issue: 'For the Revolution or for Russia?'

When it will be impossible to say that the Revolution smashed the throne to save Russia, when the Revolution will have betrayed us abroad as well as at home, when there will be the possibility of such a sacrilegious issue, do any of you think that the people will say: 'We are for the Revolution and against Russia'? (Shouts: "Never!") Yes, then the movement 'for Russia' will rise and nothing will remain of the Revolution!

Gentlemen, the Government knows what it has at stake. We know that also. Let the Russian people also know that this is the final stake. But if anyone will interfere with this work, because he continues propaganda transported from Germany, or because he puts party considerations above the national cause, we will let him know that he is a traitor and that we shall regard him as such!" (Loud applause and shouts of "Bravo!")

After the last speaker, M. V. Rodzianko made the following statement to the members of the Duma:

"Some time ago I predicted that at some future time the private sessions of the Duma would become a prime necessity for the country. I think that this time has come now. The alarming and dangerous situation of the country has been sufficiently well defined here. I have nothing to add to the beautiful words that have been said here; I think that by continuing periodically our meetings and by discussing the situation, even though in this private way, we shall succeed in letting the people hear from the clear-headed Russian Parliament words of truth, warning and advice as to how to steer the vessel of State, the dangers threatening it and the manner in which they can be prevented. I am convinced that you join unreservedly in the appeal to support the new Government." (Loud applause.)

The following resolution was introduced and unanimously adopted:

"The meeting of the members of the National Duma urgently reminds the Provisional Government, at the time of its reconstruction, that the foreign policy regarding war and peace should be, as heretofore, based on unconditional and unswerving loyalty to our valiant Allies, because with this loyalty are inseparably bound both Russia's vital interests and her honor."

THE All-Russian Congress of Officers' Delegates opened on May 28, 1917. The first speech was made by Lieutenant-Colonel Gushchin, of the General Staff, who greeted the Congress in the name of the Executive Committee of the Council of Officers' Delegates.

Gushchin's Speech

"We understand the responsibility assumed by the Executive Committee in calling you all to express yourselves upon the questions which have caused you so much pain. You have been invited to Petrograd not by your superior officers' order,—from this we are free forever,—but by a definite organization of Officers' Delegates in Petrograd, which was formed in the very beginning of the Revolution, out of the chaos of that time, and which, even before the former Tzar's resignation, considered the Provisional Committee of the Duma the sole governmental authority. The officers of Petrograd aim at union with the soldiers, in whom they want to see their younger comrades; nor have they inscribed on their banner separation of the soldiers from the workingmen. In the very beginning of our work, we met with some distrust, which, however, we tried to overcome by our union with the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. We, officers, are a part of the people; but, at the same time, we are a separate organization called to defend Russia and to guide our soldier-brothers. In New Russia even the discipline, which is the Army's foundation, must be based on new, sensible principles. Nothing can separate the Russian officer from the soldier.

We are one united family of soldiers and we have now one single purpose—victory over the foreign enemy. In the name of free Russia, we must gain victory, for the Fatherland will not forgive us the disgrace of defeat."

Unanimous applause followed this speech. U. M. Steklov greeted the Congress of Officers' Delegates in the name of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

Steklov's Speech

"The time has come," began U. M. Steklov, "when every son of Russia must define himself politically and apply all his efforts to the strengthening of the foundations of Russia's citizenship. At present, more than ever, are appropriate the words of the poet who said: 'Not every one needs to be a poet, but every one is obliged to be a citizen."

The Russian officers must also state their attitude towards the present moment, because they are an organization which has played and is at present playing an important part in the country's life and through whose hands pass millions of lives in the bloom of youth. The Russian officers are affected, not less than other citizens, by the general shake-up. The officers, as a whole, are a healthy body and have rendered many great services to the Revolutionary Movement. From officers' families came the Decembrists, who in the period of

slavery did not fear to raise the banner of freedom and to lay down their lives for the highest ideals of humanity. The number of officers who were martyrs for freedom constantly increased in the years following the emancipation movement, and only the period of reaction, the period of Alexander III and Nicholas II, put the officers also under restraint. The Russian officers have suffered, and now, more than ever before, have they the right to curse the old regime, which roused public sentiment against them. (Applause.) When individual representatives of your class stained their uniforms by participation in punitive expeditions, you, Russian officers, suffered in silence, and you never acknowledged in your midst the uniform of a gendarme. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Now you must take a decided stand. The time when tyranny could utilize officers for the suppression of the people's struggle has passed forever, and now, even if there should appear a madman who would try to repeat the events of 1905-1906, you must declare decisively that you are citizens of a great country and servants of a great people."

The next speaker was S. I. Shidlovsky. When he appeared as the representative of the Executive Committee of the Duma, all the members of the Congress rose and greeted him with prolonged applause.

Shidlovsky's Speech

"There are times in the history of a people that give birth to a watchword uniting all the people, times when the attention must not be divided and when all efforts of the people must be directed towards one point. As such a point we must now consider the foreign enemy confronting our Army. This is the only place where we can see danger to the new order.

I appeal to you for unity, and I am sure that the new freedom is not menaced by any lurking danger and you can face it squarely. (Applause.)

The task confronting us will be more difficult than those we have already performed. Victory over the old order was comparatively easy, because Tzarism had no defenders. Now there are before you problems of construction, complicated by the great war, which must restore an order under which life can be rebuilt in all countries on the basis of universal peace. You are fighting not Wilhelm, but the conditions excluding the possibility of this peaceful existence. My final plea to you is: Be firm and united and build the future with a clear understanding of our problems; also, try to unite the Army for the defense of high ideals, this defense to be conducted only in a way befitting a free and confident people."

After these speeches came the greetings to the Congress by the representatives of the Allied nations. Among others, the American Ambassador in Petrograd, David R. Francis, and a member of the Belgian Cabinet, Emile Vandervelde, spoke.

A deep impression was made by the delegation from the Black Sea Fleet. Two sailors, Agnieev and Batkin, spoke in the name of the sailors, workingmen and soldiers of the Sebastapol Garrison. Agnieev welcomed the officers of the Russian Revolutionary Army "who defend now not the dynasty, not His Majesty, Nicholas II, but Her Majesty, the Russian Revolution."

Sailor Batkin spoke with a great deal of enthusiasm and passion. He called the officers to union with the soldiers and said that "when this will have been achieved, Russian freedom, which only a week ago was on the verge of ruin, will be definitely won." "The war," said Batkin, "is equally superfluous to you officers and to us soldiers. But just now, when little, blood-covered Belgium, which gave France the possibility of preparing and us the opportunity of making the Revolution, listens, trembling, to your decision,—you, bound by your awakened conscience, must announce to her and to all the Allies, that everyone who sheds his blood together with you is your friend and that you will not forsake your friends in difficulty. This is a time not for words, but for acts, and you must return and announce to the Army that there can be no traitors in the Russian Army and that those who fraternize with the enemy at a time when the blood of the French and English is being shed, are traitors."

The members of the Congress rose and for a long time applauded this speech.

The program for the day was completed when the Minister of War, A. F. Kerensky, appeared in the hall. The Congress remained standing during the Minister's speech.

Kerensky's Speech

"Comrades, I thank you for the honor," began A. F. Kerensky, "which I regard as your desire to emphasize your solidarity with the Russian Revolution, and I greet in you, the Russian Army. I

have accepted the burdensome, but at the same time highly honorable, task of the leadership of the country's armed forces. I need your support in order to follow the course pointed out to us by the free, revolutionary people. I came from circles which are strange to you; I never wore a military uniform, but I have also been through the school of iron discipline, in the revolutionary parties, the members of which, like you, swore either to conquer or to die for the Fatherland's freedom. In our ranks we had our kind of officers and soldiers; but we were all equal, and the officers' only privilege was double work and double responsibility. Now the army of slaves, subjected by the old regime, has become an army of free sons of a free country, and there should be no one in that army deprived of political rights.

I have come to you to express my conviction that you, comrades, officers, will raise to the height due them those traditions which have been present in the Russian Army since the time of the Decembrists. I respect you all, equally, and I know the burden of the heritage you received from the past and which tortures your souls. But you must, with an open, free mind, go to your younger comrades and bring them into your midst, as equals. Down with doubts, distrust and despondency! I shall insistently demand, backed by the whole power of the revolutionary people, obedience to discipline based on conscience, duty and truth. This will make the Army a force before which all will bow and which all will fear. (Vehement applause.)

The purpose of your Congress I understood to be your desire to extend your hands to your friend and brother—the soldier. I am sure that the burden which I have assumed will seem to me light and joyous and that the beautiful day of the birth of the Revolutionary Army will come, an Army which will give up its life for freedom, equality and fraternity."

The All-Russian Congress of Officers' Delegates adopted the following resolution regarding the war:

"The All-Russian Congress of Officers' Delegates, while welcoming the Provisional Government's efforts for a lasting peace and brotherhood, recognizes that:

(1) Any retardation in the work of restoring the Army's and Navy's fighting capacity may result in the ruin of free Russia, because it will allow Germany to beat our faithful Allies, after which a humiliating peace will be forced upon us.

(2) The time for words has passed, and action is necessary in order to compel the German Government to accept the wish of the Russian people—peace without annexations or indemnities, based on the principle of self-determination of peoples.

(3) Offensive action is necessary on the front, as the only guaranty of success.

(4) The whole Russian people must unite in a powerful effort to compel Germany to accept its wish."

With regard to the internal conditions of the Army, the Congress adopted the following resolution:

"The All-Russian Congress of Officers' Delegates from the Army and Navy has come to the following conclusions. Owing to deep causes rooted in the conditions of life of the pre-revolutionary period and to the inevitable shocks of the stormy course of the great Russian Revolution, the Army has been brought into a state of painful disorganization, which has affected those essential parts of its foundation without which no army can exist. This disorganization is manifest in the following circumstances:

(1) Complete decline of the superior officer's authority, manifest not only in his uncertainty as to whether his orders will be carried out, but even in direct failure to carry them out, including orders on the battlefield; the attempts on the part of the miltary committees to bring under their jurisdiction, merely by their own declaration, the questions of Army administration and even those of operation; the efforts to put into practice the principle of election of superiors.

(2) On the one hand, complete absence of confidence on the part of soldiers in the officers, who, as a whole, are suspected of disloyalty during the revolutionary struggle; on the other hand, a cetrain confusion among the officers themselves in these difficult, almost tragic conditions of the transitional period: lack of self-assurance, inability to decide on a line of conduct and lack of desire for energetic, undaunted work on new principles.

(3) Frequent cases of complete unfitness of persons of both higher and lower ranks for the position occupied.

(4) Absence of a lofty military spirit, evident in the irresistible and frank longing on the part of the soldiers for peace, often peace at any price; wholesale desertion, especially in the rear divisions; the shameful fact of fraternizing which has brought about a state of actual truce in some sectors at the front.

(5) Absence of coöperation between front and rear, demonstrated in the complete failure on the part of the rear to satisfy the demands of the front.

(6) The worst possible disorganization in the food and fodder supply system, which is destroying the Army's horse-power.

The All-Russian Congress of Officers' Delegates from the Army and Navy fervently appeals to the officers of the Army and Navy for the good of revolutionary Russia to forget their fatigue, to forget their sad personal experiences and offenses, to cast aside all despondency and apathy, to work with self-sacrifice and energy for the

building up of a great Revolutionary Army, and in particular, for the immediate execution of the following measures:

(a) Passing and putting into effect of a positive law which would very definitely state that disobedience to military orders in the war area is treason to the country and is liable to the severest punishment.

(b) Strict limitation of the activities of the Army Committees, within well-defined boundaries, to economic, social and educational questions, and energetic opposition to all efforts to apply the elective principle to the office of President of the Council on Field Operations.

(c) An extensive, constant, systematic and energetic propaganda by authoritative and leading organs of the Russian Democracy, for the purpose of strengthening the discipline among the soldiers, increasing their confidence in the officers and promoting a correct understanding of governmental problems by the Army.

(d) The immediate organization of disciplinary courts for the control of the less intelligent elements of the Army.

(e) Improvement in the military preparation of officers and non-commissioned officers.

(f) Formation in each part of the Army of special detachments which would be the bulwark of lofty military spirit and of conscientious performance of military duty.

(g) Immediate consideration of the question of appointment of higher officers, taking as the basis the method of ratification of commanders by council composed of persons both equal and subordinate to the officer who is being appointed.

(h) Putting into effect responsibility of commanders for the field operations by means of accounts to be given to committees specially elected for that purpose from among officers and soldiers; establishing of the closest possible relations between the front and the rear, for which purpose the reserve forces should be put under the jurisdiction of the corresponding commander at the front, as regards the instruction of the forces and the method of reinforcement.

(i) Thorough and energetic organization of all problems of food supply and transportation.

(j) Summoning of all governmental and social forces for a struggle against the disgrace of desertion and evasion of duty to the Fatherland."

CHAPTER VIII

The Second Cabinet

THE resignation of A. I. Guchkov and P. N. Miliukov led to a governmental crisis which ended after the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates decided, by a vote of 41 to 19, to participate in the Government.

Prince G. E. Lvov was again appointed Prime Minister in the new Cabinet. A. F. Kerensky was appointed Minister of War and Navy, replacing A. I. Guchkov, and to Kerensky's place, as Minister of Justice, was appointed P. N. Pereverzev, a member of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists. M. I. Terestchenko replaced P. N. Miliukov as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and to Terestchenko's post, as Minister of Finance, was appointed A. I. Shingariev, the former Minister of Agriculture. V. M. Chernov, the leader of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, was appointed Minister of Agriculture.

The Ministers A. I. Konovalov, A. A. Manuilov, V. N. Lvov and I. V. Godniev retained their former posts. New Ministries of Post and Telegraph, of Labor, of Supply, and of Public Welfare were organized, and the Social-Democrats, E. G. Tseretelli and M. I. Skobelev, the People's Socialist, A. V. Peshekhonov, and the Constitutional-Democrat, Prince D. I. Shakhovskoy, respectively, were appointed to fill these posts. Thus in the new Coalition Cabinet seven Ministries were filled by Constitutional-Democrats, six—by Socialists, and two—by the Octobrists.

The new Government began its activities by publishing the following declaration:

"Reorganized and strengthened by the entrance of new representatives of the Revolutionary Democracy, the Provisional Government declares that it will resolutely and whole-heartedly put into practice the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity—the principles inscribed on the banner under which the great Russian Revolution has come into being. The Provisional Government is particularly united on the following fundamental lines of its future activities:

1—A. F. Kerensky, Minister of War and Navy.
2—Prince G. E. Lvov, Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior.
3—M. I. Terestchenko, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
4—A. A. Manuilov, Minister of Education.
5—N. P. Pereverzev, Minister of Justice.
6—V. M. Chernov, Minister of Agriculture.
7—A. V. Peshekhonov, Minister of Supply
8—A. I. Shingariov, Minister of Finance.
9—A. I. Konovalov, Minister of Trade and Industry.
10—N. V. Nekrasov, Minster of Ways of Communication.
11—I. G. Tseretelli, Minister of Post and Telegraph.
12—M. I. Skobelev, Minister of Labor.
13—I. V. Godnev, State Comptroller.
14—V. M. Lvov, Procurator of the Synod.
15—Prince D. I. Shakhovskoy, Minister of Public Welfare.

(1) In its foreign policy, rejecting, in full harmony with the entire people, the very idea of a separate peace, the Provisional Government proclaims openly that it is its aim to bring about, at the earliest possible date, a universal peace without the object of either imposing its rule over any nation, or taking away any nation's wealth, or annexing forcibly foreign territory, i. e., we wish peace without annexations, without indemnities and on the principle of allowing every nationality to work out its own destinies. Firmly convinced that with the overthrow of the Tzar's regime and the introduction of democratic principles in our domestic and foreign policies, a new and valuable factor was created, inducing the Allied Democracies to aspire for a lasting peace and brotherhood of nations, the Provisional Government will take the preliminary steps towards effecting an undertsanding with the Allies on the basis of the declaration made by the Provisional Government on March 27th.

(2) Believing that the defeat of Russia and her Allies would not only be the source of the greatest calamity for the peoples of the world, but would retard and make impossible the conclusion of a general peace on the basis of the above mentioned principles, the Provisional Government trusts that the Revolutionary Army of Russia will not allow the German troops to crush our Allies in the West and then turn their arms against us. To strengthen the principles of democratization in our Army, to organize and strengthen its fighting capacity for both defensive and offensive operations, is the most important task now before the Provisional Government.

(3) The Provisional Government will relentlessly and resolutely fight the economic disruption through systematic introduction of further government and communal control over production, transportation, exchange and distribution of products, and if necessary, will resort to reorganization of the industrial life.

(4) Measures concerning the fullest possible protection of labor will be developed further in the most energetic way.

(5) Leaving it to the Constituent Assembly to decide the question of transfer of land to the toilers, the Provisional Government will take all necessary measures to secure the greatest productivity in the baking and allied industries, in order to satisfy the needs of the country, and to regulate the utilization of land in the interests of the country's needs.

(6) Desiring to effect a gradual reorganization of our system of finances on democratic principles, the Provisional Government will pay special attention to the increase of direct taxation of the property-owning classes (inheritance tax), of taxation of excess profits amassed in war industries, income tax, etc.

(7) The work of introducing and strengthening the democratic organizations of self-government will be continued with all possible persistence and speed.

(8) The Provisional Government will, in like manner, make every effort to convoke the Constituent Assembly in Petrograd as soon as possible.

(9) Considering it its object to put the above mentioned program into practice without hesitation, the Provisional Government categorically declares that its work can bear fruit only on condition that the revolutionary people place their fullest and unconditional faith in the Government and enable it to exercise in reality its full power, which is so indispensable in the matter of safeguarding the achievements of the Revolution and their further development.

Appealing to all the citizens, with the urgent plea to preserve the unity of power which is being effected by the Provisional Government, we proclaim that the Provisional Government will take the most energetic measures to save the country from all counter-revolutionary attempts as well as from anarchistic, unlawful acts of violence, disorganizing the country and preparing the ground for counter-revolution. The Provisional Government believes that on this road it will meet with the unhesitating support of all those to whom Russia's liberty is dear."

On May 18, at a special meeting of the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, M. I. Skobelev, the new Minister of Labor, made public the Declaration of the Government, and N. S. Tscheidze, the President of the Council, introduced a resolution, already accepted by the Executive Committee of the Council, approving the entrance of the Socialist Ministers into the Cabinet.

Among the Bolsheviki who opposed the resolution was Leon Trotsky, who then addressed the Council for the first time, having only on the preceding day returned from the United States.

Trotsky pointed out that the participation of the Socialists in the Coalition Ministry was a dangerous step. "I never believed," he said, "that the emancipation of the working class will come from above. Division of power will not cease with the Socialists' entrance into the Ministry. A strong revolutionary power is necessary. The Russian Revolution will not perish. But I believe only in a miracle from below. There are three commandments for the proletariat: (1) Transmission of

power to the revolutionary people; (2) control over their own leaders, and (3) confidence in their own revolutionary powers."

After a debate, the meeting adopted the following resolution, with only several dissenting votes:

"Acknowledging that the declaration of the Provisional Government, which has been reconstructed and fortified by the entrance of representatives of the Revolutionary Democracy, conforms to the idea and purpose of strengthening the achievements of the Revolution and its further development, the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates has determined:

(1) Representatives of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates must enter into the Provisional Government.

(2) Those representatives of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates who join the Government must, until the creation of an All-Russian organ of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, consider themselves responsible to the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, and must pledge themselves to give accounts of all their activities to that Council.

(3) The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates expresses its full confidence in the new Provisional Government and urges all friends of democracy to give this Government active assistance, which would assure it the full measure of power necessary for the safety of the Revolution's gains and for its further development."

A month later, in the middle of June, this same problem, the relation of the proletariat to the Coalition Government, was once more debated,—this time at the All-Russian Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. Again, one of the main speakers of the Bolsheviki was Leon Trotsky.

"I tell you that the country is approaching an outright catastrophe," said Trotsky, "because somehow we cannot understand that the whole thing lies in the creation of a homogeneous power. In two weeks the question will become more acute. The question is—power to whom and over whom? Is it power over the Revolutionary Democracy or the power of the Revolutionary Democracy? Do not

forget that at the moment of demobilization, we will need a still more powerful government, and, therefore I say that full power must be turned over to the Democracy.

The policy of continual postponement and the detailed preparations for calling the Constituent Assembly is a false policy. It may destroy even the very realization of the Constituent Assembly. And these black ravens of the Fourth Imperial Duma are not at all so innocent. Their appointees in the Ministry are starving out the Russian Revolution practically in all spheres, while they themselves sit in the Tavrichesky Palace and wait for the time, when, as Deputy Kerensky thinks, the country itself will wish for the return of the old Octobrist or Tzar's Government. Then Rodzianko will come and tie us together in one bag, you from the right wing and us from the left."

Trotsky was answered by the Minister of Post and Telegraph, I. G. Tseretelli:

"As a representative of the Revolutionary Democracy, in the Provisional Government," said I. G. Tseretelli, "I want to point out, so as to make it absolutely clear, on what conditions we consider it possible to work, what we will do in the future, and what support we want from the revolutionary masses, if the Democracy should wish that we remain in power. The Provisional Government came into being by means of an agreement between the Revolutionary Democracy and the bourgeoisie. We are living through a moment when the concentration of all forces of the country is needed to liquidate the interior and foreign crises.

This problem can only be met adequately by a government which unites the tremendous majority of the population and which rests on all the living forces of the country. The Soviets of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates undoubtedly have great influence; none the less, we cannot say that they unite all the forces of the country. Except the classes, which are united by the Councils, there exists still the tax-paying Russia and the propertied classes. In the primary stages of the Revolution there was a moment when the Imperial Duma became the center of it. The Duma stood then for progressive ideas and in this way has rendered invaluable services to the Revolution. In its progressive movements the Revolution cleaved away from itself several classes of society who were with it at the beginning. These classes remained outside of the people's movements. At the first moment the question of whether Miliukov or Guchkov, as representatives of the imperialistic circles, could enter the Cabinet of the Provisional Government, did not occur at all. Soon, however, these elements were cast aside by the progressive advance of the Revolution. The Revolution calls everybody to come under its banners, and he who turns away from these banners remains isolated.

The first Cabinet of the Provisional Government was replaced by the Coalition Government. The question arises whether there are not in the personnel of the present Government persons unable to accomplish the program of principal political reforms mapped out by the New Government. The answer to this question, life itself will give. Only by actual experience will it be made clear whether the representatives of the bourgeoisie are really capable of undertaking a radical program of reforms or whether they came to sabotage this program. If the representatives of the bourgeoisie prove incapable, they will be expelled, but until that happens nobody may discredit them in advance, because exactly such a lack of confidence would bring the disorganization which is so dangerous at the present time.

One must recognize that even the Imperial Duma, which was called by some one here 'a meeting of dead men,' still has great influence and authority with very large masses of the people, and only in the future progressive advance of the Revolution will the real role of the Imperial Duma possibly become clear, and then the people will become averse to it."

Continuing, Tseretelli passed over to the arguments of the Bolsheviki and pointed out that the Bolsheviki did not feel responsibility for the consequences to which their proposals may lead:

"It is proposed that we speak to the Allies with ultimatums, but did those who made these proposals think that this road might lead to the breaking of diplomatic relations with the Allies and to the very separate peace which is condemned practically by all of us? Did Lenine think of the consequences of his proposal to arrest several dozen capitalists? Can the Bolsheviki guarantee that their road will lead us to the correct solution of the crisis, and if they guarantee this, then they do not know what they are doing. The Bolsheviki road can lead only to civil war."

Tseretelli declared that he would not follow this road, but would lead Russia on the road on which it is possible only to die or to conquer. He hoped that Russia would conquer.

Tseretelli was followed by the Bolshevik, Kamenev. Kamenev began by answering the former speaker:

"The present Coalition Cabinet," said he, "cannot receive great and powerful authority because the organized Democracy, due to its very structure, cannot give this power to the present Government. The men who accepted posts in the Coalition Government, accepted it with the purpose of preventing the ruin of Russia, but were such measures taken by the Government?

All revolutionary measures of the Provisional Government are being delayed and rejccted, because everything in the Government is based on an agreement between the Revolution and the counter-revolution which is being organized.

Our Ministers, in the final analysis, have to defend measures which even Miliukov or Prince Lvov would hardly dare to defend."

Kamenev stopped to discuss the statement that the Bolsheviki desired a separate peace and declared:

"The Conference of the Bolsheviki has expressed a resolute protest against the base calumny which claims that we are for a separate peace.

In general, however, comrades, we do not reject a separate peace on the ground that agreements with imperialists are valuable to us and that we consider inviolable the note binding all the allies, which deprives them of the right to independently conclude a separate peace. For us, there is something higher than all these agreements—namely, the interests of the proletariat and the Revolution, and if these interests should demand the destruction of the existing agreements, then we will destroy them.

Generally speaking, a separate peace is outside the horizon ot those acts which we as a Party may undertake. We suggest to treat very carefully the question of a separate peace. Only the one who stakes everything on a strong army can in the end be forced to accept a separate peace.

If the revolutionary proletariat of Europe will fail to support the Russian Revolution, the latter will be ruined. And as that support is the only guaranty of the safety of the Revolution, we cannot change our policy by discussing the question as to how much fraternizing will stimulate the awakening of the proletarian powers of Europe. Otherwise, the Russian Revolution will be rendered powerless by the stones of the imperialistic mills, and it will not matter much whether these come from the side of Germany or Anglo-Japan. And we shall not discuss whether it would be better for us to be a colony of German or Anglo-Japanese imperialism.

We do not care for either, and will tread the path which is outside of these possibilities. History has shown that the logic of the Revolution lies really in this process.

The Revolution was planned as a small Revolution in the name of a great war, but it turned out to be a great Revolution and a small war. We stand now at the turning point, when it really threatens to be seduced to a small revolution and a great war. And Miliukov, coming forward with his declarations, did not speak in favor of the aims contemplated by you, but for the triumph of the ideas of the present moment, which here, in Russia, must result in the strangling of the Revolution.

The only outlet from the situation is a complete break between the Revolution and the imperialistic aims. And this the Revolution cannot do, until it breaks with bourgeoisie.

For two months you have placed your confidence in Miliukov, allowed him to violate the young Russian Revolution in the name of his imperialistic aims. When Miliukov was issuing notes to which you would object, he would give explanations and you would find them satisfactory. That lasted two months, and you have no right to expect that the foreign proletariat will have faith in your notes and telegrams, in which you continue to write one thing, while at home you stand for an imperialistic government.

When the Coalition Cabinet was formed and you received new Ministers, the general situation did not improve, but grew worse.

You must prove by deeds that you stand for the principle 'without annexations or indemnities' while, in reality, Finland is unable until now to obtain from you the recognition of those rights which you yourselves have recognized to be hers, on paper. And as to the Ukraine, you did not want to recognize until now her right for national self-definition."

The Congress decided to accept as a basic resolution the one offered by the Mensheviki and Socialists-Revolutionists, which was passed by a vote of all the members except the Bolsheviki and a part of the Mensheviki-Internationalists. The resolution follows:

"The Congress recognizes:

1. That under the conditions created as a result of the first Ministerial crisis, the passing over of all power to the bourgeoisie elements would deal a blow at the cause of the Revolution.

2. That the transfer of all power to the Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, at the present moment of the Russian Revolution, would greatly weaken her powers by prematurely driving away from her elements which are still capable of serving her, and would threaten the ruin of the Revolution; we approve the actions of the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates which has found an outlet from the crisis of April 20-21 in the creation of a Coalition Government, on the basis of a resolute and consistent democratic platform in the sphere of foreign and interior policies.

Having heard the explanations of the comrades-Ministers about the general policy of the Provisional Government, and expressing full confidence in them, the All-Russian Congress recognizes the direction of this policy as serving the interests of the Revolution.

The Congress calls upon the Provisional Government to carry out more resolutely and more consistently the democratic platform accepted by it, and, in particular: (a) to strive persistently for the

speediest conclusion of a general peace without annexations or indemnities, on the basis of self-definition of nationalities; (b) to carry out the further democratization of the Army and to strengthen its fighting power; (c) to undertake, with the direct participation of the toiling masses, the most energetic measures for the combating of the financial-economic disruption and disorganization of the food supply produced by the war and made acute by the policy of the propertied classes; (d) to conduct a systematic and resolute fight against counter-revolutionary attempts; (e) to bring about the speediest realization of the measures affecting the questions of land and labor, in accordance with demands of the organized toiling masses and dictated by the vital interests of public economy, greatly sapped by the war; (f) to aid in the organization of all forces of the Revolutionary Democracy by means of rapid and radical reforms in the systems of local government and autonomy on a democratic basis, and the speediest introduction of Zemstvos and Municipal autonomy, where there is none as yet; (g) particularly does the Congress demand the speediest convocation of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly.

At the same time, for the more successful and resolute realization of the indicated program, for the full unification of the forces of the Democracy and the expression of its will in all phases of government life, the Congress finds it necessary to create a sole, plenipotentiary and representative organ of the whole organized Revolutionary Democracy of Russia, which organ must be comprised of the representatives of the All-Russian Congress of Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates as well as of representatives of the All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Delegates.

To this All-Russian representative body the Socialist Ministers are responsible for the foreign and interior policy of the Provisional Government.

This responsibility gives assurance that while the Socialist Ministers remain in the Provisional Government, the Government acts in accord with the Democracy and therefore the Government should possess full power and the active support of all the democratic forces of the country.

The Congress calls upon the whole Revolutionary Democracy of Russia to consolidate its forces even more closely around the Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates; to support energetically the Provisional Government in all its activities to strengthen and broaden the conquests of the Revolution."

CHAPTER IX

Allied Labor and Socialist Leaders in their Relation to the Russian Revolution

THE Revolution in Russia inspired greatly the Labor and Socialist Movements in the Allied countries, bringing them hope that the free Russian Democracy would participate with renewed vigor in the battle of the Allied Democracies against German autocracy. Such prominent Socialist and Labor leaders as Emile Vandervelde, Albert Thomas, Arthur Henderson and Arturo Labriola, representing respectively Belgian, French, English and Italian Socialism and Labor, personally visited Petrograd in May, 1917. While James Duncan and Charles Edward Russell, representing American Labor and that part of American Socialism which recognizes this war, on the Allied side, as a just war for a democratic cause, arrived later with the American Extraordinary Mission, Samuel Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labor, on May 7, cabled, in behalf of American Labor, the following appeal to the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates:

"The gravest crisis in the world's history is now hanging in the balance and the course which Russia will pursue may have a determining influence whether democracy or autocracy shall prevail. That democracy and freedom will finally prevail there can be no doubt in the minds of men who know, but the cost, the time lost, and the sacrifices which would ensue from lack of united action may be appalling. It is to avoid this that I address you.

In view of the grave crisis through which the Russian people are passing, we assure you that you can rely absolutely upon the wholehearted support and coöperation of the American people in the great war against our common enemy, Kaiserism. In the fulfillment of that cause the present American Government has the support of 90 per cent. of the American people, including the working classes of both the cities and the agricultural sections.

In free America, as in free Russia, the agitators for a peace favorable to Prussian militarism have been allowed to express their opinions, so that the conscious and unconscious tools of the Kaiser appear more influential than they really are. You should realize the truth of the situation. There are but few in America willing to allow

Kaiserism and its allies to continue their rule over those non-German peoples who wish to be free from their domination. Should we not protest against the pro-Kaiser Socialist interpretation of the demand for no annexation, namely, that all oppressed non-German people shall be compelled to remain under the domination of Prussia and her lackeys, Austria and Turkey? Should we not rather accept the better interpretation that there must be no forcible annexations, but that every people must be free to choose any allegiance it desires, as demanded by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates?

Like yourselves, we are opposed to all punitive and improper indemnities. We denounce the onerous punitive indemnities already imposed by the Kaiser upon the people of Serbia, Belgium, and Poland.

America's workers share the view of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates that the only way in which the German people can bring the war to an early end is by imitating the glorious example of the Russian people, compelling the abdication of the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs and driving the tyrannous nobility, bureaucracy, and the military caste from power.

Let the German Socialists attend to this, and cease their false pretenses and underground plotting to bring about an abortive peace in the interest of Kaiserism and the ruling class. Let them cease calling pretended 'international' conferences at the instigation or connivance of the Kaiser. Let them cease their intrigues to cajole the Russian and American working people to interpret your demand, 'no annexation, no indemnities,' in a way to leave undiminished the prestige and the power of the German military caste.

Now that Russian autocracy is overthrown, neither the American Government nor the American people apprehend that the wisdom and experience of Russia in the coming Constitutional Assembly will adopt any form of government other than the one best suited to your needs. We feel confident that no message, no individual emissary, and no commission has been sent or will be sent with authority to offer any advice whatever to Russia as to the conduct of her internal affairs. Any commission that may be sent will help Russia in any way that she desires to combat Kaiserism wherever it exists or may manifest itself.

Word has reached us that false reports of an American purpose and of American opinions contrary to the above statement have gained some circulation in Russia. We denounce these reports as the criminal work of desperate pro-Kaiser propagandists, circulated with the intent to deceive and to arouse hostile feelings between the two great democracies of the world. The Russian people should know that these activities are only additional manifestations of the

'dark forces,' with which Russia has been only too familiar in the unhappy past.

The American Government, the American people, the American labor movement, are whole-heartedly with the Russian workers, the Russian masses, in the great effort to maintain the freedom you have already achieved, and to solve the grave problems yet before you. We earnestly appeal to you to make common cause with us to abolish all forms of autocracy and despotism and to establish and maintain for generations yet unborn the priceless treasures of justice, freedom, democracy, and humanity."

Emile Vandervelde, the former Chairman of the International Socialist Bureau, who came to Petrograd together with his friends, De Brucker and De Mann, on May 19, 1917, expressed the views of the Belgian Socialist Delegation in a lengthy interview with representatives of the Petrograd and Moscow press:

"My comrades, Louis De Brucker and Henry De Mann, belong to the extreme left wing of the Belgian Social-Democrats," said Emile Vandervelde. "Before the war both were active representatives of anti-militarism. I must say that for us Belgians anti-militarist propaganda was always a question of honor.

My experience, in court, as lawyer for Brucker, who was accused of making a speech to soldiers in which he urged them to disobey orders to shoot striking workers or something similar, I consider one of the best reminiscences of my youth. Although I was unable to secure Brucker's acquittal—he was sentenced to six months in prison—I recall this incident with joy.

My young comrade, De Mann, became very prominent before the war as one of the most active workers in the cause of the international fellowship of Socialists. I consider it necessary to state that De Mann had numerous and close connections with the Socialist circles of Germany and Austria. He was Secretary of the Belgian Union of Socialist Young People, which carried on an active anti-militarist propaganda.

On the day Belgium was invaded by the German troops, they both enlisted in the Army. Since then they have both been promoted for service at the front, De Brucker to the rank of sergeant, De Mann to that of second lieutenant.

This is not my first time in Russia. I was in Petrograd several days before the outbreak of the war. I shall remember forever the truly fraternal welcome given me, as representative of the Belgian Social-Democrats and Chairman of the International Socialist Bureau, by the Russian Social-Democrats of all groups.

Recalling now my first visit to Petrograd, I cannot help expressing

the feeling I had the instant I entered free Russia. At that time, in the summer of 1914, Belgium was the freest country in Europe. Russia I saw then in a state of grievous oppression, the Russian people were under the cruel yoke of the autocracy. Now Russia is the freest country in the world, and the Belgian people, enslaved by the Germans, live under an oppression that the world has never before seen. I shall not tell you the history of our sufferings. You know it.

We three came now to Russia to greet the Russian Revolution in the name of the suffering Belgian workers and to ask from the Russian people assistance and support.

Our arrival was simultaneous with the reorganization of the Russian Government. In the declaration of your new Government I note that its program of foreign policies is based on the decision to fight for a peace without annexations or indemnities and in accordance with the principle of self-determination of nations. We would not be Socialists if we did not adopt this formula directly and frankly. But just as directly do I state that this formula should be expressed definitely and concretely.

With regard to Belgium I declare the following:

The great powers can, and, in my opinion, should renounce all claims to indemnities. This is prompted not only by principles, but also by plain common sense. It would be insane to prolong the war for the sake of indemnities, when the war demands gigantic disbursements, not to speak of the loss of life, for which there is absolutely no compensation. But for Belgium this question is a different one. Belgium wanted no war. Germany compelled us to take up arms. On August 4, 1914, the German Chancellor stated in the Reichstag: 'I admit that we have committed an injustice towards Belgium. When we reach our goal, she will be compensated for this injustice.' Among the peoples of the Entente countries, peoples who put justice above everything, there can be no persons who would not, in this respect at least, share the point of view of the Chancellor. We demand that our Allies compel Germany to fulfill the obligation acknowledged by her Chancellor. In some circles I have heard it said that Belgium must, of course, receive an indemnity, but this could be paid to her by all the powers together, or by the powers which guaranteed her neutrality. We protest against this plan. We protest because this plan is immoral. Germany is guilty of an injustice, acknowledged by her Chancellor, and she must repay Belgium's losses.

We demand only full restoration of our independence. To this I shall add, not as a Belgian, but as a European: Every annexation without the people's consent is more than a crime, it is a fatal political mistake. But precisely because I am, in principle, an opponent of illegal annexations, I consider a peace based on the status quo ante

bellum as contradictory of that principle. The emancipation of the Armenians from the Turkish despotism, bloody and unscrupulous, the return to the Italian people of the Italian Trentino, the return to France of Alsace and Lorraine, against Germany's annexation of which violent protests were made by Karl Marx, Bebel and Liebknecht, Sr.,—these are not annexations, but just the opposite,—I consider them the restoration of people's rights, violated by force.

The rights of people to self-determination is the basis of all future international politics. Without a full realization of this right, a durable peace is unthinkable. The peoples will really receive this right when the Tzar in Berlin and the Tzar in Vienna follow the Tzar of Petrograd, into private life.

Three Tzars, the Russian, German and Austrian, are the terrible trio, who for over a century have been weighing down heavily upon Europe. It is they who tore Poland to pieces at the end of the eighteenth century. It is they, who, several years after that, combined for the purpose of strangling the French Revolution and of stopping the march of freedom. It is they who, having dethroned Napoleon, concluded the 'Holy Alliance' against the freedom of peoples. It is they, who, in 1848, combined to smother the Revolution in Berlin and Vienna. It is they who created the policy of armed neutrality, which led to the great European war and the monstrous destruction of lives.

The reaction had three heads. One head of this hydra has been cut off, but two still remain; and, do not deceive yourselves, they are more dangerous than ever; they conceal more cruel and insidious plots against the freedom of peoples than ever before.

The newspaper 'Pravda'* to-day published an article accusing me of advising my Russian comrades to give up revolutionary activity during the war and to become reconciled with Tzarism. I am also accused of having my appeal to the Russian Socialists edited by a Russian diplomat.

I think it necessary to make a full explanation of that circumstance. I do not regret my acts of that time. If I had occasion to do the same thing to-day, under similar circumstances, I would do it.

It was in the first days of the war. Belgium was already crushed. The Germans had invaded France and were moving towards Paris. The Belgian Minister of War asked me whether I did not consider it advisable to appeal to my Russian comrades, for the purpose of uniting all freedom-loving people in their fight against Germany, who had just then committed such a crime. I told him I was ready to do so. The Minister guaranteed that my telegram would reach its destination. He promised to communicate with the Russian Embassy for the purpose of having it passed by the Russian censor. In that telegram I told my Russian comrades that I knew their

*The official publication of the Bolshevist Party.

attitude toward Tzarism and that I agreed with them. But, while understanding their position with regard to the war, I asked them to appreciate the situation as a whole and called their attention to the fact that German militarism had seized the Western Democracies by the throat, to strangle them, in order to have reaction reign in Europe. This is all. I repeat, under similar circumstances, I would do the same thing to-day.

To say that I am an opponent of the Russian Revolution is slander against which I protest with all the powers of my soul for myself, my comrades and the whole Belgian people. You surely know that when the workers in occupied Belgium heard of the Russian Revolution, they rejoiced. To them, as to myself, the news of Russia's emancipation meant the certain emancipation of Belgium.

As for the statement by Prince Kudashev, it is also interpreted incorrectly and evil-mindedly. My telegram had to pass the Russian censor. For this reason it was sent by our Minister of War to the Russian Embassy. In the evening of that day, Kudashev informed me that because of two sentences in which I spoke harshly of Russian Tzarism, the telegram was likely to be barred, and asked me to moderate these sentences, if possible. Since the moderating of these harsh words did not distort my thought, fully expressed in my statement that I agreed entirely with my comrades' attitude towards Tzarism, I consented to the changes, which I made together with Kudashev."

With regard to the present time, Vandervelde said:

"I find that no time should be lost, at present, on festivities and mutual congratulations on the acquisition of freedom; one should not indulge in fiery speeches on solidarity among peoples, one should not be deluded by illusory negotiations with the governmental Social-Democrats of Germany, one should not be tempted by fraternization at the front, which the Germans make use of only for the purpose of espionage. Work in the factories should now be carried on. The Germans should be given no possibility of transferring division after division from the Russian to the French and Italian fronts. Kerensky's speech at the Peasants' Congress has given me deep joy. He understands the situation better than any one else. We trust that he will pour his conviction into the soul of everyone. We trust that the Russian Democracy and the Russian Army will prove to the whole world that the discipline of spirit is more powerful than the iron discipline of force. And, therefore, we believe in the success of our common cause, we believe that freedom will not be crushed but will triumph throughout the world."

The well-known Italian Socialist, Arturo Labriola, expressed his views in a remarkable speech delivered on June 2, 1917, at a meeting in the Petrograd People's House:

"Believe me, citizens," said Labriola, "it is extremely difficult to convey to you the greetings of friends who have come here from a far-off land, for the express purpose of congratulating the Russian people, and to convey these greetings in a foreign tongue and in the midst of so much excitement.

And yet I want to believe that the feelings that are stirring within me, when I speak with you, citizens of Russia, about the Russian Revolution, will give me a certain mysterious power to penetrate into your hearts and will enable me to reach your souls.

We, Italians, have always loved you for your suffering, for the untold martyrdom you have been enduring on your road to freedom. We love you for the great deed you have accomplished. We love you as brothers for having lit the beacon which is illumining our darkest days and showing the weary wanderers of Europe a peaceful haven, the ideal of universal brotherhood.

To create spiritual values in your beautiful language, to follow the magnanimous genius of your race, to work in accord with the natural aspirations of your soul—this is to be your share of the work in the family of nations.

But, citizens, you have created this free country not for yourselves alone. You have gained freedom for all your brothers the world over. National thought, national ideas, national experience must serve not only the country where the thought has originated, where the idea has been born or the experience gained,—these are contributions to the common treasury of mankind.

'Is it not true, friends, that if one link is torn in the great chain of the human family, then the entire chain inevitably falls apart? One link is a small thing. But just break one link of a chain, and the entire chain ceases to serve the purpose for which it was destined. Every man, who, while fully respecting the patriotism of other nations, at the same time defends his country, defends the cultural values for which it stands, is working for the benefit of mankind, just as one of the links of the chain contributes to the strength of the chain. But every individual and every nation striving to deprive other individuals or peoples of their cultural or political independence, commits a crime not only against one particular nation, but against mankind as a whole.

To resist such a man or such a nation is the sacred duty of each and every one of us towards mankind as a whole. That is why, citizens, we are rejoicing and celebrating together with you the downfall of Tzarism. You have killed Tzarism not only for yourselves, but for entire Europe. The conspiracies of monarchs, as long as Russian Tzarism was in existence, transformed Europe into a prison. The overthrow of Russian Tzarism marks the beginning of the republican era throughout Europe.

Proud of her victories won in 1866 and 1870, blinded by the magnitude of her scientific and industrial progress and by the enormous riches amassed through the systematic labor of the German people, Germany has been carried away by the mad dream of spreading the network of her domination throughout Europe. The commercial supremacy of Germany has practically made other countries her territories, from an economic standpoint; the widening of Germany's intellectual influence has been directed towards effacing the national peculiarities of other nations; the gigantic military power of Germany has been constantly threatening the independence of these nations. If the German dream were realized, all Europe would be Germanized, and every trace of national originality blotted out in Europe.

That is why in July, 1914, and in May, 1915, the vast majority of the Italian Democracy realized the danger it faced: the victory of German militarism means the enslavement of entire Europe. Then the vast majority of the Italian Democracy demanded that Italy join the Republic of France and the liberty-loving people of England.

And soon struck the momentous hour about which I want to remind you. In May and July, 1915, the Russian soldiers, all their bravery notwithstanding, were compelled to retreat under the onslaught of the German troops, and to evacuate Poland. What would have happened then if the Allies had been left without support? Perhaps Mackensen's and Hindenburg's troops would have joined hands in Petrograd and Moscow. A still larger part of Russia would have been occupied by the Germans, and your emancipation would have been attended with even more difficulties. The Italian offensive checked Hindenburg's advance. You nobly repaid this debt you were in honor bound to pay, when the following year, through Brusilov's offensive, you helped us to repulse the Austrian troops. Your aid saved many thousands of Italians from Austrian bondage. The soldiers of Russia and the soldiers of Italy have thus entered into a new brotherly alliance, and these bonds of brotherhood are keenly felt by our people.

Now, after three years of tremendous sacrifices, the question before us is how to bring the war to its natural end. Those unjust and vicious conditions which for centuries have promoted wars of conquest and militaristic aggression, and made necessary secret diplomacy for the benefit of dynasties oppressing the masses,—those conditions must be eradicated. Poland must have her independence restored, France must receive Alsace-Lorraine, Italy—Trentino, Triest and Zarah, a reward fully deserved by the long martyrdom of the Italian people, at one time rent asunder through dynastic annexations. Belgium, Serbia, Roumania must be restored in accordance with their aspirations. Historic justice and moral obligation demand it.

In the name of the great spirit of justice which is animating the Revolution, the free people of Russia will,—I am certain of this,—come to the rescue of all the nations striving for their national integrity, and will help to realize the great dream of universal justice, for the sake of which you, too, have suffered so much."

Albert Thomas, the French Socialist leader and at that time Minister of Munitions in the French Cabinet, arrived in Petrograd in the middle of April and spent two months in Russia meeting Russian political leaders, addressing large meetings and issuing statements to the press. On May 21, in Moscow, he addressed a conference of the Executive Committees of the Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, and this address may be considered as one of the most important addresses delivered in Russia by the French Socialist leader.

Thomas spoke about his participation at the Conference of the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates and about the problems connected with the International Socialist Conference.

"When the initiative was taken by Borgbyer," said Thomas, "the French and English Socialists wanted to refrain from participation in the Conference. But when this matter was taken up by the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, the French and English Socialists changed their attitude. And now I wish to bring to France not only greetings from the Russian comrades, but also concrete plans which must be presented at the International Conference."

His purpose in coming to Russia, Albert Thomas explained in the following words:

"On the one hand, I want the French to have a clear conception of the Russian situation. My second task is to ask and demand of the Russian Socialists that they try to understand us. I am not very much embarrassed when I find that I am being attacked by one or another part of the proletariat. These things are bound to occur in politics. But I want to ask my Russian comrades wherein is the difference between their point of view and that of the French Socialists? I would like to make our position clear to the Russian comrades, so that we may come to an understanding. I shall first of all speak of the friendly agreement at which we arrived at the Petrograd Conference. We shall carry on a campaign for the calling of an International Conference. And you, as well as we, are now confronted with the definite problem of preparing the ground for it. Over in France we have, like the Petrograd Council of Workmen's

and Soldiers' Delegates here, commenced the fight for the principles proclaimed in the appeal 'To the Peoples of the World,'—the struggle against international capitalism. This I state without hesitation. But I say in just as unmistakable terms that there is no way of fighting for the Internationale, if the Russian Army does not help France. (Boisterous applause.)

In the name of the Executive Committee, Rosenblum answered Thomas:

"Our Revolution is a revolution not only against autocracy and Tzarism, but also against war. Two weeks after the beginning of the Revolution, the Russian proletariat addressed the well-known appeal to the peoples of the world and has with the greatest anxiety waited to hear how the other Democracies would respond to it. We were deeply hurt when we received no proper answer to our appeal.

We are waiting for the Socialists of the Allied countries to join us in our appeal. The Russian Socialists never stood for a separate peace. They only demanded that the Russian soldier should know for whom he is fighting, that the Russian soldier should know that he is not shedding his blood in the interests of imperialism, or in the interests of the Russian or the Allied bourgeoisie, but for the cause of universal peace, for the free self-determination of nationalities. Hence it is clear that the coming Socialist Conference will be the first step in the struggle for such a peace. This struggle will resurrect the Internationale. We hail your consent to attend the conference. You must begin in France that campaign which we are carrying on in Russia, voicing the slogans: 'Peace without annexations or contributions,' 'Peace on the basis of the self-determination of nationalities.' The democratic elements of the Western countries must join us in accepting these slogans."

In his answer, Albert Thomas expressed his pleasure at the fact that the Russian comrades had at last tackled the very crux of the question:

"If the Russian Revolution is a revolution not only against the Tzar but against war as well," Thomas exclaimed, "then it is essential to know what its ultimate aims are! If you are talking about peace at any price, then it is unacceptable to me. In Russia it is being stated definitely that a separate peace is impossible, that peace can be concluded only by means of general diplomatic negotiations. But it is possible to attain the same situation without starting peace negotiations. If the military situation remains unchanged for a very long time, then that is, as a matter of fact, a separate peace."

Passing to the slogan "Peace without annexations and without indemnities," Albert Thomas asked: "Would the restora-

tion of Alsace and Lorraine to France be considered an annexation?" He declared that for over 40 years the population of these Provinces, torn away from France, has not ceased expressing their desire to be again part of France:

"Prior to the war," said Thomas, "we never demanded the annexation of Alsace-Lorarine by force of arms. We considered it possible to attain this aim by means of peaceful development, by fraternity and justice. The chauvinists have subjected us to ridicule and insult for this very reason. We never stood for the solution of this problem by means of bloodshed. (Applause.) But the day Germany declared war, we said firmly: 'The question has been raised in all its fullness. It demands a solution.' The question of annexation is frequently discussed in connection with a plebiscite. But as regards Alsace-Lorraine, this solution will be inadequate, as Germany has flooded those Provinces with German peasants and officials. At the same time many natives, not wanting to serve in the German Army, have emigrated to France to serve in the French Army. A plebiscite under such circumstances is liable not to voice the real desire of the people of the Provinces. We wish that the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine be made with the consent of the people. I would be a traitor to my country if I were to vote for a formula which would allow the Prussian immigrants to suppress the desires of the people of Alsace-Lorraine.

I do not wish to touch upon any other pressing problems; I shall not discuss the question of indemnities which we, Frenchmen, understand not as a contribution but as a means of restoring our losses. I shall stop to consider the question of the right of every nationality to work out its own destiny. The terms of peace must be such that Alsace and Lorraine will be able to freely determine their own fate. On this question we differ radically from the Germans. Germany understands this principle of self-determination in the sense of altering the boundaries and returning us a number of villages. On such terms we cannot make peace.

But if Gemrany accepts our point of view, then we can participate in an international conference. If, however, another trend of thought will prevail at that conference, if the right of self-determination will be denied Poland and Alsace-Lorraine, then this conference will be merely a trap."

Rosenblum replied by pointing out that in describing the Russian Revolution as a revolution against Tzarism and in favor of universal peace, he did not mean that the Russian Socialists wanted peace at any price.

"Russia does not think of peace in any other way except as a universal peace. Comrade Thomas called attention to the practical standstill at the front in April. This was probably not only your misfortune, but also ours. This is an uncontrollable phenomenon and it is of a temporary nature. The new Coalition Government has firmly proclaimed the necessity for restoring the fighting capacity of the Army, and Comrade Thomas had better not say that the inactivity of the Russian Army is one of the aims of the Russian Revolution."

After Rosenblum, the representative of the Bolsheviki, Nogin, spoke. He asserted that the Russian soldiers were tired out, that more of them were dying of hunger than of the enemy's bullets. "If the war is continued, then the country, which is war weary, is threatened with internal disruption. It will therefore never do to shut our eyes to the actual conditions, and we must not say that the disintegration of the Army is merely accidental."

Albert Thomas again took the floor. He called attention to the startling contradictions between the statements made by Rosenblum and Nogin regarding the causes of the standstill at the front:

"The last speaker's statement that the Russian Army is tired," said Thomas, "is of very great significance for me. If this is so, then the entire burden of the war will fall upon France. I have heard two entirely different opinions and would like to know which is shared by the majority. If you claim that the Russian Army is war-weary, I would say that the Armies of the Allies have also suffered great losses, but still they continue to fight. I personally believe that no matter how tired the Russian Army is, it will find strength to wage the struggle with renewed effort. I know that the old régime has left you a ruined and ravished estate. But where is the strength of the Russian Revolution if it is unable to improve upon the old!"

On the previous day Albert Thomas addressed a large meeting of officers, in Moscow. The Vice-Chairman of the meeting, Gen. Prince S. A. Droutskoy, in an enthusiastic speech, greeted Albert Thomas as the democratic Minister of free France.

"In the name of the great and free Russian Army, in the name of the officers and Army officials of the Moscow Garrison," said Prince S. A. Droutskoy, "I greet you, as the Minister of our gallant and noble Ally, France.

We declare, and you may well believe our assertion, that our Army will be able to do its duty towards the country and towards our glorious Allies, who are fighting even as we are for the freedom of the nations of the world.

Our bloodless Revolution, the first in the history of mankind, has not weakened us. On the contrary, it has increased our powers for creating and safeguarding the happiness and progress of free peoples.

Our united Armies will be able to properly solve this problem. Long live the gallant French Army! Long live our Allies!"

Albert Thomas responded with the following speech:

"Officers of the Moscow Garrison: I have listened with the greatest pleasure to your greetings. As the Chief of the War-Technical Department, I wish, in my turn, to greet the free Army of Revolutionary Russia, in the name of the French Army. (Applause.)

We are also familiar with revolutionary times. Our Army also knows what it means to pass through the indecision and confusion of a similar period. But the soldiers and workers of France decided this question by one mighty stroke in 1792.

In the French Revolutionary Army which fought at Valmi, the officers of the old régime, inspired by the new breath of the Revolution, led the troops of liberated France to victory, side by side with the young revolutionary officers. In the hope of a similar union, I am greeting you to-day, officers of the Moscow Garrison.

Of course, I understand what anxiety sometimes creeps into your hearts. Of course, I realize how much energy, how much will power is required in order to adapt yourselves to the new conditions, in order to understand the bitterness which sometimes arises in the hearts of your soldiers, those very same soldiers who have for so many years been suppressed by the old régime. But I have faith in your mind and will. I trust that through a proper understanding of the demands of the Revolutionary Army, you will soon lead the Revolutionary Army to victory, for the sake of Russia's honor, for the sake of the Allies' honor. (Applause.)

Officers of the Moscow Garrison: We are counting on you, we are waiting impatiently, sometimes anxiously, for the Russian Army to wage a new offensive. It cannot be unknown to you that the Germans have massed their forces on our front. Our Army and the English Army, united, will halt,—you may rest assured,—the German onslaught. They will halt it in order to enable you to come to our aid in time. Think of it, never in the course of the war was there a moment which could be compared to the present! Never were conditions better for fighting and winning the war. It is only necessary that the Russian Army arrive in time. It is necessary that the Russian Army arrive when the French and British Armies are engaged

in the decisive struggle. The Russian Army must arrive before the enemy has a chance to replenish his supplies through the new crop,—we must, by our united effort, crush Prussian militarism during the coming summer. I am seeking assurance here and I am finding it.

I thank you, General, for your statement that the Russian Army will do its duty towards the country, the Allies and Russia's liberty. We are sure that Russia is waging her struggle for freedom not only by demonstrations in the streets of Moscow and Petrograd, but also on the front.

There will be no freedom for Russia, there will be no freedom for any people in the world as long as the Hohenzollern heel is able to crush any nation. There will be no freedom in this world until Democracy will prevail everywhere.

Socialists of the Russian Army! Officers of the Russian Army! You will help the cause of liberty. You will help the Democracy of all countries to gain more strength. Long live Free Russia! Long live the free Army of Revolutionary Russia!"

That same day Albert Thomas addressed the general meeting of the Moscow Council of Soldiers' Delegates. His appearance at this meeting was the signal for enthusiastic and prolonged applause:

"Comrades," Thomas began, "I am happy that on the first day of my arrival in Moscow I have the opportunity of conveying the fraternal greetings of the French soldiers to you, soldiers of Russia. (Shouts: "Bravo! Hurrah!" Boisterous applause.)

We who are living in the Far West have long known how the Russian soldier can conquer or die; we know how, when in the beginning of the war there was a shortage of ammunition, he parried the blows of Prussian militarism with his bare hands. (Boisterous applause.)

We know that those relations which have been established in free Russia between the revolutionary troops and the workmen have welded them into one whole and enabled them to overthrow the old régime. We, Frenchmen, are especially pleased to note that in your country, as well as in ours, the Revolution was made by the Revolutionary Army and the people, who, together, constitute one whole."

Albert Thomas then turned to the question of discipline:

"A Revolutionary Army must have revolutionary discipline, that is, discipline based not on fear, but on the clear and definite realization of one's duty. If under the old régime the soldiers obeyed the officers for fear of being punished, then now orders should be executed voluntarily, because everybody knows now the aim which Free Russia and her Allies are pursuing.

At the present moment we are expecting support from you, from the Revolutionary Army, for just at present hundreds of German regiments and battalions are massed against the French troops. We, Frenchmen, are now very much concerned with the question of the Russian troops rendering support to the French Army.

I listened carefully to Comrade Kerensky's apeal to the Russian Army in Petrograd. Comrade Kerensky stated that the country was in danger. This is the very same slogan that was sounded in France at the very beginning of the war. And we, also, heard that said by a Socialist-Minister. In response to his call, bourgeoisie and proletariat rushed to the frontiers, where, shoulder to shoulder, they fight to defend their country and their liberty from the Germans.

By repelling the German hordes," Thomas concluded, "the Russian Army will save the country and the newly-won Russian liberty."

After a two months' stay in Russia, Albert Thomas, in his final interview, thus voiced his impressions:

"I came from France full of faith in the final triumph of the Russian Revolution and in its beneficial results for the common cause of the Allies. I was not perturbed by the rumors reaching us, that along with the change in Government, a change in the opinion regarding the war had apparently also taken place in several classes of Russian society. During my two months' stay in your country, I have seen and heard a great deal, and now I am leaving permeated with the very same faith that I had on my departure from France. I do not close my eyes to the difficulties you will have to overcome, together with the Allies closely united with Russia. I harbor no illusions as to the near future, and foresee all the obstacles which we will have to encounter before reaching the final goal. The last days, however, have convinced me that means and ways for an agreement between the Russian democrats and the democracy of the Allied countries are being already devised and that the discord existing between them at present will soon vanish entirely.

The coalition Ministry is evidently deeply rooted in the country, and the idea of forming a Cabinet of similar political aspirations, which at this time could be socialistic only, does not meet with sympathy in political circles. Of this I have become convinced from my interviews with prominent representatives of political parties.

The war problem is also near solution, but here some pressure must be brought, and that as soon as possible. It is indispensable to put an end to the separate truce, and to show the enemy that the Russian Army represents a formidable power, to be reckoned with. Leaving Petrograd, I carry away the conviction that on the question of war some progress has been made in the attitude of the representatives of the extreme radical factions of Russian Socialism. If, on the one hand, the notes of the Allies, replying to the Russian

note in regard to the war aims, show deviation from the formerly repeatedly expressed readiness to concede to the formulas announced by the Russian Democracy, then, on the other hand, the Russian democrats are also apparently inclined to compromise somewhat on the previously announced formulas. In short, one may speak of the harmony existing at present between the Allies and Russia.

Thus, during my stay in Russia, the Allies scored a diplomatic victory in that they have reconciled the Socialists of France with those of Russia. I am convinced that as soon as complete agreement between us and the Russian Socialists is reached, the problem of war will be solved immediately, and we will approach the era of peace.

Our sole aim should be the struggle against German imperialism, and to that end an energetic continuation of this war and unity between the Allies are also imperative. I am leaving with a new faith that this unity is not far off."

ON June 9th, Arthur Henderson, the British Minister of Labor, delivered a speech on the question of war and peace before the Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

"To my share," Henderson began, "has fallen the great honor of conveying the heart-felt greetings from the British labor and Socialist movements to the free Russian Democracy. I have come to the Russian Democracy at an historical moment and it is with the greatest joy that I am ready to shake hands with the representatives of free Russia, for I hope that the Democracies of Russia and Great Britain will remain friends forever. I can assure you that the proletariat of Great Britain is ready to serve the Russian Democracy in every possible way. We fully realize the tremendous importance of the change which has taken place in Russia due to the overthrow of the old autocracy. What you have done has no precedent in the history of mankind, for never has there been a revolution so complete and at the same time so bloodless. It is highly important that this internal triumph of the Democracy which has been attained in Russia, should be firmly established and become permanent, for this newly-gained liberty has been recognized as one of the most potent factors of lasting peace among the nations of the world. Such a peace would be in full accord with the ideals of free democracy. Every effort must be made to avert the possibility of peace terms being dictated by military despots irresponsible to the democracy.

Since the day of my arrival in Petrograd I have been constantly besieged with questions about the attitude of the British proletariat towards the present war. In the first place, I would like to emphasize

the fact that the English working class has decisively opposed this war and has been fighting to the last for the preservation of peace. Even when the Russians were anxiously asking why the British do not come to the rescue of their country, the British proletariat still remained in the same position of inertia. This attitude changed only when Belgium's neutrality was violated and when it became certain that Germany and Austria were striving to attain the hegemony in Europe and throughout the world, and when the German Social-Democrats voted the war budgets in the Reichstag.

The English workers are fighting only in order to defend their country and to compel the foe to respect international treaties. Of course, they are striving for peace, but such a peace as would be capable of securing the happiness and welfare of the nations of the world and which would eradicate all lawful causes for future wars. The workers of England are therefore opposed to any peace treaties that would establish the domination of one nation over another, the appropriation of national wealth or forcible annexation of foreign territory. Together with their Russian comrades, they proclaim that peace must be concluded on the principles of no annexation, no indemnities and the right of every nation to work out its own destiny.

In accordance with a similar point of view, the peace treaty must pursue the object of establishing the unity, the independence, the autonomy, safety and liberty of all nations, great and small. The Polish question, the question of a united independent Poland must be solved in accordance with the wish of the Polish people. The complete restoration of Belgium as an independent State must be guaranteed unconditionally. Further, in the interests of preserving future peace, the population of Mesopotamia and Africa must be freed from the yoke of Turkish or German rule, even if it has to be done through special international committees. Important reforms are also to be introduced into Turkey in the interests of the Armenian and Arabian populations. Constantinople, if possible, must be transformed into a free port, and the Dardanelles internationalized. Ways and means of a more satisfactory and stable solution of the Balkan problem must be found. All are probably inclined to think that in the Balkans a political understanding could be arrived at which would safeguard peace and mutual good will among the various nationalities.

We must endeavor to destroy all that stands in the way of national and international development on the principles of social progress. We are aspiring to establish a family of free nations, each of which must have ample opportunity for independent development of its powers,—nations competing with each other in the progress of knowledge, education, and social welfare. We must make an effort to create neighborly relations among all nations, in order to abolish all fear of attack or injustice on the part of the more ambitious and

more powerful towards the weaker. Such a family of free nations would be capable of recognizing and carrying into practice the principles of arbitration. The apparatus necessary for the application of the above-mentioned principle to international disputes must become a permanent institution.

I would not like to see my speech misinterpreted, for the consequences of such a misunderstanding might be extremely grave and even dangerous to the future of civilization. The British proletariat, of course, wants a peace and will hail peace. But this must be an honorable peace! This must be a lasting peace! This must be a peace that would prevent any domination of brute force in the future! Bergson said: 'We must live not on the strength of the ideal of power, but of the power of ideals.' These are the factors which have made the proletariat of Britain come out in favor of war in 1914. These are the ideals which inspired the proletariat of England in 1914, and to which he must remain true in 1917 since they have been consecrated by the blood of the sons of England."

On June 28th, speaking before the English colony in Moscow, Arthur Henderson said:

We are fighting because the freedom of the world and the safety of our Allies have not been made secure as yet. As regards Russia, we are glad that she has entered into the family of free nations and is taking her first steps on the road to freedom. She is now more closely than ever bound up with the great Democracies which are taking part in the war of liberation. Of all the marvelous things that occurred during this war, there is nothing more marvelous than the Russian Revolution. Long has the great nation suffered from the incompetence of its rulers, but when its patience was exhausted, the nation rose like one man.

"I may assure the Russian people that the Government and the people of Great Britain have all the confience in Russia and will remain true to their Allies until the end of the great unfinished struggle for their liberation. Realizing the very difficult situation in which Russia now finds herself, I will not join the critics whom I have often heard. I shall just say that the Government of Great Britain will render the Russian Government all help possible—financial, economic and moral support, and will render this with the greatest readiness.

The British Government has already done much. I have some definite data which I wish to present to the Russian people.

Since the beginning of the war the British Government has helped the Russian Government financially to the extent of not less than 500,000,000 pounds (sterling). England has supplied Russia with footwear worth millions of pounds and clothing worth hundreds of millions. Of war material England has sent to Russia: over 150,000

tons of metal, over 500 aeroplane engines, over 700 cannon and long-distance guns, ammunition and accessories worth from 3 to 4 million, 300,000 rifles, 2,500 machine guns, over a thousand million of cartridges and thousands of automobiles and auto-trucks.

If the Russians will consider these figures as well as the quantity of tonnage used up for the transportation of this freight while every ton was needed for ourselves, they will have to admit that England was not an unfaithful Ally."

On June 29th, Arthur Henderson addressed the Executive Committee of the Moscow Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates in the following words:

"When the war began, we wanted to remain neutral, but when Germany violated Belgium's neutrality and when Russia shouted: 'Help us!' we, as a Labor Party, decided to support our Government and to fight. At our last Congress, which was held two and a half years after the beginning of the war, we discussed the question as to whether our attitude towards the war was right. A resolution supporting our entrance into the war was adopted by a vote of 1,100,000 against 348,000. I must call your attention to this vote because it is of great importance as bearing favorably upon our present position.

I must also point out that when the war broke out, we were not an imperialistic nation. We could not send to France more than an expeditionary force of 100,000 men. We had to organize an Army of 5,000,000 volunteers. Tens of thousands of these were trades-unionists. Many of them are still in the trenches on the French front. In addition to these Armies, we have received aid from Canada, India and New Zealand.

How did it happen that we have received such aid not only in England, but in the colonies as well? We would not have received such aid were we to wage a war of aggression. We do not need any territorial acquisitions. We share your point of view: we want peace without annexations. We are also for the right of every nation to work out its own destiny. That is why we received so much of the popular support."

Passing over to Russia's domestic affairs, Henderson continued:

"In the first place, I must convey to you the greetings from the British Labor Party. We, the first and the oldest Democracy, are greeting the Russian Democracy, the youngest in the family of nations. We know that you have accomplished your Revolution with great difficulty, and you have performed this difficult task in the interests of Democracy the world over.

Henceforth all the free Democracies must stand together. But

there are other peoples who are yet to be freed. They can only be freed by free peoples. If we want to secure their liberty, we must fight and defend it. If any one tells you that we, English workers, are carrying on a capitalistic and imperialistic war, answer: 'No, they are fighting a war of liberation.'

What proof have we that the German Government is going to enfranchise the German people? Should we have such proof, I am sure that peace will be concluded. But until the working class of England receives such assurances, it will defend England's freedom. We have given our sons for our ideals, but not for a capitalistic and militaristic war. I wish that the friendship between England and Russia grows ever stronger and stronger. We shall need you after the war, and you will need us; therefore, let us continue the fight side by side."

V. V. Roudnev's Speech

V. V. Roudnev, President of the Moscow Municipal Duma and Chairman of the meeting, greeted Henderson, as the representative of British labor, in the name of the Moscow Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

"Comrade Henderson and we ourselves," said Roudnev, "agree that the speediest termination of the war is the urgent and imperative task now before the working class of all countries. The Russian Democracy has in this war been placed in the most difficult situation: in the first place, because Russia is economically backward and, secondly, because having received a burdensome heritage from the old régime, we are compelled to reconstruct our economic life under the stress of prolonged warfare. With us, according to the prevailing opinion, the war is threatening to kill the Revolution and its achievements if the Revolution does not kill the war by a heroic effort.

We would have been satisfied if the working class of England were to draw a line of demarkation between its interpretation of the slogans of the war of liberation and that of the imperialists. Comrade Henderson stated that the British workers would attend the International Conference only on condition that an Interallied Conference be called first. Such an attitude is not in accord either with the interests of the Russian or international Democracy. We expect the working class of England to bring all possible pressure to bear on the imperialistic classes, on the character of the policy adopted by the English ruling classes. We would also like to see actual steps taken by the English Government towards the speediest possible revision of treaties binding England and Russia. We hope that the English working class will understand the Russian Revolutionary Democracy, its aspiration towards the speediest possible conclusion of peace through the restoration of international solidarity of the

working class and not by crushing the enemy. We trust that the English working class will support the Russian Democracy in its practical steps taken towards calling a conference,—an undertaking that is intended to benefit not only the Russian Democracy, but the Internationale."

Henderson's Reply

In answering Roudnev's speech, Henderson said, among other things, the following:

"It would have been a great error on my part to say that there is even a semblance of understanding between us. I can only say that we shall give serious consideration to the propositions advanced here. I think we shall agree on one point: we all want peace, but there is a difference in the methods by means of which we would obtain peace. Your Chairman thinks that the methods which we have adopted may prolong the war. But it would be of little avail if I were to try to prove that from our point of view your methods will also lengthen the war. I can only repeat once more: 'We shall consider this.'"

CHAPTER X

The American Mission to Russia

THE news of the Russian Revolution aroused everywhere, in the Allied countries, a feeling of profound joy and sympathy. Among the many jubilant expressions and statements in those significant days, the profound and powerful statement of President Wilson, in his Address to Congress on April 2, 1917, remains outstanding.

"Russia was known by those who knew it best," said President Wilson, "to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great generous Russian people have been added in all their naive majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor."

On May 15 the State Department, in Washington, officially announced the personnel of a Special American Mission to Russia. Hon. Elihu Root, former Secretary of State, was appointed to head the Mission as Ambassador Extraordinary. As his associates, with the rank of Envoys Extraordinary, the following were appointed: John R. Mott of New York, Charles P. Crane of Illinois, Cyrus H. McCormick of Illinois, Samuel R. Bertron of New York, James Duncan of Massachusetts, and Charles Edward Russell of New York. Major-Gen. Hugh L. Scott, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, was appointed Military Representative of the President, and Rear-Admiral James H. Glennon,—Naval Representative.

On May 26 President Wilson transmitted a note to Petrograd, the publication of which was delayed until June 10. The text of the note follows:

"In view of the approaching visit of the American Delegation to Russia to express the deep friendship of the American people for

the people of Russia and to discuss the best and most practical means of coöperation between the two peoples in carrying the present struggle for the freedom of all peoples to a successful consummation, it seems opportune and appropriate that I should state again, in the light of this new partnership, the objects the United States has had in mind in entering the war. Those objects have been very much beclouded during the last few weeks by mistaken and misleading statements, and the issues at stake are too momentous, too tremendous, too significant for the whole human race to permit any misinterpretations or misunderstandings, however slight, to remain uncorrected for a moment.

The war has begun to go against Germany, and in their desperate desire to escape the inevitable ultimate defeat those who are in authority in Germany are using every possible instrumentality, are making use even of the influence of groups and parties among their own subjects to whom they have never been just or fair or even tolerant, to promote a propaganda on both sides of the sea which will preserve for them their influence at home and their power abroad, to the undoing of the very men they are using.

The position of America in this war is so clearly avowed that no man can be excused for mistaking it. She seeks no material profit or aggrandizement of any kind. She is fighting for no advantage or selfish object of her own, but for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggressions of autocratic force. The ruling classes in Germany have begun of late to profess a like liberality and justice of purpose, but only to preserve the power they have set up in Germany and the selfish advantages which they have wrongly gained for themselves and their private projects of power all the way from Berlin to Bagdad and beyond. Government after Government has by their influence, without open conquest of its territory, been linked together in a net of intrigue directed against nothing less than the peace and liberty of the world. The meshes of that intrigue must be broken, but cannot be broken unless wrongs already done are undone; and adequate measures must be taken to prevent it from ever being rewoven or repaired.

Of course, the Imperial German Government and those whom it is using for their own undoing are seeking to obtain pledges that the war will end in the restoration of the status quo ante. It was the status quo ante out of which this iniquitous war issued forth, the power of the Imperial German Government within the empire and its widespread domination and influence outside of that empire. That status must be altered in such fashion as to prevent any such hideous thing from ever happening again.

We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government, and the undictated development of all peoples, and every feature of the settle-

ment that concludes this war must be conceived and executed for that purpose. Wrongs must first be righted, and then adequate safeguards must be created to prevent their being committed again. We ought not to consider remedies merely because they have a pleasing and sonorous sound. Practical questions can be settled only by practical means. Phrases will not accomplish the result. Effective readjustments will; and whatever readjustments are necessary must be made.

But they must follow a principle, and that principle is plain. No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live. No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing those who inhabit it a fair chance of life and liberty. No indemnities must be insisted on except those that constitute payment for manifest wrongs done. No readjustments of power must be made except such as will tend to secure the future peace of the world and the future welfare and happiness of its peoples.

And then the free peoples of the world must draw together in some common covenant, some genuine and practical coöperation that will in effect combine their force to secure peace and justice in the dealings of nations with one another. The brotherhood of mankind must no longer be a fair but empty phrase; it must be given a structure of force and reality. The nations must realize their common life and effect a workable partnership to secure that life against the aggressions of autocratic and self-pleasing power.

For these things we can afford to pour out blood and treasure. For these are the things we have always professed to desire, and unless we pour out blood and treasure now and succeed, we may never be able to unite or show conquering force again in the great cause of human liberty. The day has come to conquer or submit. If the forces of autocracy can divide us they will overcome us; if we stand together, victory is certain and the liberty which victory will secure. We can afford, then, to be generous, but we cannot afford, then or now, to be weak or omit any single guaranty of justice and security."

This note was supplemented by another explaining the aims of the American Extraordinary Mission to Russia. The second note was made public on June 18, and read as follows:

"The High Commission now on its way from this country to Russia is sent primarily to manifest to the Russian Government and people the deep sympathetic feeling which exists among all classes in America for the adherence of Russia to the principle of democracy, which has been the foundation of the progress and prosperity of this country. The High Commissioners go to convey the greetings of this Republic to the new and powerful member which has joined the great family of democratic nations.

The Commissioners who will bear this fraternal message to the people of Russia have been selected by the President with the special purpose of giving representation to the various elements which make up the American people and to show that among them all there is the same love of country and the same devotion to liberty and justice and loyalty to constituted authority. The Commission is not chosen from one political group, but from the various groups into which the American electorate is divided. United, they represent the Republic. However much they may differ on public questions, they are one in support of democracy and in hostility to the enemies of democracy throughout the world.

The Commission is prepared, if the Russian Government desires, to confer upon the best ways and means to bring about effective coöperation between the two Governments in the prosecution of the war against the German autocracy, which is to-day the gravest menace to all democratic Governments. It is the view of this Government that it has become the solemn duty of those who love democracy and individual liberty to render harmless this autocratic Government, whose ambition, aggression, and intrigue have been disclosed in the present struggle. Whatever the cost in life and treasure, the supreme object should be and can be attained only by the united strength of the democracies of the world, and only then can come that permanent and universal peace which is the hope of all people.

To the common cause of humanity, which Russia has so courageously and unflinchingly supported for nearly three years, the United States is pledged. To coöperate and aid Russia in the accomplishment of the task, which as a great democracy is more truly hers to-day than ever before, is the desire of the United States. To stand side by side, shoulder to shoulder against autocracy, will unite the American and Russian peoples in a friendship for the ages.

With this spirit, the High Commissioners of the United States will present themselves in the confident hope that the Russian Government and people will realize how sincerely the United States hopes for their welfare and desires to share with them in their future endeavors to bring victory to the cause of democracy and human liberty."

The Mission reached Petrograd, via Vladivostok, on June 13, 1917. On June 15 the Members of the Special Diplomatic Mission of the United States were presented to the Russian Provisional Government by the Ambassador of the United States, the Honorable David R. Francis, who said:

"Thoroughly imbued with the spirit of service, these Americans have cheerfully responded to the call of President Wilson,

and are here to perform an important duty. I feel it a great honor to present this Special Diplomatic Mission of the United States to the Provisional Government of Russia.

Permit me to introduce to the Council of Ministers the distinguished Chairman of the Mission, the Honorable Elihu Root, former Secretary of War, former Secretary of State, former Senator of the United States, always a true American."

Mr. Root thereupon made the following address:

"Mr. President and Members of the Council of Ministers: The Mission for which I have the honor to speak is charged by the Government and people of the United States of America with a message to the Government and people of Russia. The Mission comes from a democratic Republic. Its members are commissioned and instructed by a President who holds his high office as Chief Executive of more than 100,000,000 free people by virtue of popular election, in which more than 18,000,000 votes were freely cast, and fairly counted pursuant to law, by universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage.

For one hundred and forty years our people have been struggling with the hard problems of self-government. With many shortcomings, many mistakes, many imperfections, we still have maintained order and respect for law, individual freedom, and national independence. Under the security of our own laws, we have grown in strength and prosperity. But we value our freedom more than wealth. We love liberty, and we cherish above all our possessions the ideals for which our fathers fought and suffered and sacrificed that America might be free.

We believe in the competence of the power of democracy and in our heart of hearts abides faith in the coming of a better world in which the humble and oppressed of all lands may be lifted up by freedom to a heritage of justice and equal opportunity.

The news of Russia's new-found freedom brought to America universal satisfaction and joy. From all the land sympathy and hope went out to the new sister in the circle of democracies. And the Mission is sent to express that feeling.

The American democracy sends to the democracy of Russia a greeting of sympathy, friendship, brotherhood, Godspeed. Distant America knows little of the special conditions of Russian life which must give form to the Government and to the laws which you are about to create. As we have developed our institutions to serve the needs of our national character and life, so we assume that you will develop your institutions to serve the needs of Russian character and life.

As we look across the sea we distinguish no party, no class. We

see great Russia as a whole, as one mighty, striving, aspiring democracy. We know the self-control, essential kindliness, strong common sense, courage, and noble idealism of the Russian character. We have faith in you all. We pray for God's blessing upon you all. We believe you will solve your problems, that you will maintain your liberty, and that our two great nations will march side by side in the triumphant progress of democracy until the old order everywhere has passed away and the world is free.

One fearful danger threatens the liberty of both nations. The armed forces of a military autocracy are at the gates of Russia and of her Allies. The triumph of German arms will mean the death of liberty in Russia. No enemy is at the gates of America, but America has come to realize that the triumph of German arms means the death of liberty in the world; that we who love liberty and would keep it must fight for it, and fight for it now when the free democracies of the world may be strong in union, and not delay until they may be beaten down separately in succession.

So America sends another message to Russia—that we are going to fight, for your freedom equally with our own, and we ask you to fight for our freedom equally with yours. We would make your cause ours, and, with a common purpose and mutual helpfulness of a firm alliance, make sure of victory over our common foe.

You will recognize your own sentiments and purposes in the words of President Wilson to the American Congress, when on the second of April last he advised a declaration of war against Germany. He said:

'We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government (the German Government), following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are about to accept the gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights

SENATOR ELIHU ROOT

Head of the U. S. Extraordinary Mission to Russia.

have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.'

And you will see the feeling toward Russia with which America has entered the great war in another clause of the same address.

President Wilson further said:

'Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose, and now it has been shaken off and the great generous Russian people have been added in all their naive majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor.'

That partnership of honor in the great struggle for human freedom, the oldest of the great democracies now seeks in fraternal union with the youngest.

The practical and specific methods and possibilities of our allied coöperation, the members of the Mission would be glad to discuss with the members of the Government of Russia."

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. I. Terestchenko, replied to Mr. Root's address, in English, as follows:

"It is a great honor to me to have the pleasure of receiving this Mission, which is sent by the American people and their President to freed Russia to express the feelings of deep sympathy which the Provisional Government, representing the people of Russia, have toward your country.

The event of the great Revolution which we have achieved makes allies of the oldest and the newest Republics in the world. Our Revolution was based on the same wonderful words which first were expressed in that memorable document in which the American people in 1776 declared their independence.

Just as the American people then declared:

'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to

abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the form to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.'

So the Russian people, who for centuries have been enslaved by a Government which was not that which the feeling of the nation wished or wanted, have so declared and shaken off the fetters which bound them, and as the wind blows away the leaves in autumn so the Government which has bound us for centuries has fallen, and nothing is left but the free government of the people.

So the Russian people now stand before the world conscious of their strength and astonished at the ease with which that Revolution happened, and the first days of our freedom, indeed, brought surprise to us as well as to the rest of the world, but the day which brought the Revolution was not only a day which brought freedom, for it brought us face to face with two enormous problems which now stand before the Russian people, and these problems are the creation of a strong democratic force in the interior of Russia, and a fight with the common foe without, with that foe which is fighting you as well as us, and which is now the last form and last strength of autocracy; and it was with a feeling of gladness that we found you on the side of the Allies, and that after our Revolution there was no autocracy among those with whom we found ourselves fighting. We found with joy that in the high, lofty motives which have impelled your great Republic to enter this conflict there is no strain of autocracy or spirit of conquest, and our free people must be guided by those same high, lofty motives and principles.

And now let us stand together, for we pursue the same endeavor in the war and in the peace which is to follow. We representatives of the Russian nation who have been placed at its head to lead the Russian nation through its hardships on its way to freedom, following these principles which have always brought a nation from complete slavery into complete freedom, are confident we shall find the way which will lead us side by side, not only the Russian peoples, but its Allies, along that way which will bring us to future happiness.

The Revolution of Russia is a moral factor which shows the will of the Russian people in its endeavor to secure liberty and justice,

and these elements the Russian people show and wish to show, not only in their internal affairs, which we ourselves have to lead and in which we wish to be guided by these principles, but also in our international relations and in our international policies.

This war, which was brought upon us three years ago and which the Russian Revolution found when it entered the struggle of free nations, left one door for us to enter, and by that door we have entered and shall continue in that path. These Russian people strive for the end of militarism and for a durable peace which would exclude every violence from whatever side it may come and all imperialistic schemes, whatever their form may be. The Russian people have no wish of conquest or dominion and are opposed to those ideas in others, and first of all they will not allow any of those imperialistic desires which our enemy has formed, manifest or hidden, to come to good in whatever sphere he may have planned them, political, financial, or economic. This constitues the firm will or what Russia has to guard herself against.

There is also a second great thought which was expressed by that memorable document by which the nation of the United States and its people on the day of their independence declared their desires and wishes, and which says that nations should have a right to show themselves the way they wish to go and to decide their own future, and this high principle the Russian people have accepted and consider that it must guide their policies; and they consider also that all nations, however small or great, have the right to decide what their future will be, and that no territory and no people can be transferred from one country to another without their consent. Human beings have the right to say for themselves what they shall do and whose subjects they shall become.

I am happy to see you, and happy to say that there is no idea or factor of a moral or material kind to divide us or to prevent us from being hand in hand across the Pacific. These two great peoples, the free people of Russia and the free people of America, the great people of the United States, the oldest, strongest, and purest democracy, hand in hand, will show the way that human happiness will take in the future.

Allow me, therefore, to greet you, to welcome you in the name of my colleagues and of our Government, which represents our people, and to say how happy we are to see you here."

ON July 10 the American Mission announced that its purpose had been achieved in a month's visit. Senator Root issued the following statement:

"The Mission has accomplished what it came here to do,

and we are greatly encouraged. We found no organic or incurable malady in the Russian Democracy. Democracies are always in trouble, and we have seen days just as dark in the progress of our own.

We must remember that a people in whom all constructive effort has been suppressed for so long cannot immediately develop a genius for quick action. The first stage is necessarily one of debate. The solid, admirable traits in the Russian character will pull the nation through the present crisis. Natural love of law and order and capacity for local self-government have been demonstrated every day since the Revolution. The country's most serious lack is money and adequate transportation. We shall do what we can to help Russia in both."

The Mission returned from Russia early in August and reported to Washington on August 12. During its stay in Russia the Mission had been very active, and Senator Root had personally addressed many meetings, among them the Moscow Municipal Duma, the War-Industrial Committee at Moscow, the All-Russian Zemstvos Union, the Moscow People's Bank and the Moscow Stock Exchange. Senator Root appeared also at large public meetings, addressing workingmen and soldiers.

James Duncan, the representative of Labor in the Mission, on June 29 addressed the All-Russian Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, greeting the Congress in the name of the workingmen of the United States. He pointed out that the purpose of the American Mission was to extend a brotherly hand to the Russian Democracy. N. S. Tscheidze, the Chairman of the Congress, thanked the speaker in behalf of the Russian proletariat:

"Never was the unity of the workers as necessary as it is now," said Tscheidze. "We hope that here, in Russia, the monarchy will never be reestablished and that with the aid of the democracies of other countries the dynasties of Germany and Austria-Hungary will fall as well. The assistance of America is wanted upon one question particularly. You said that we need a speedy termination of the war. This is true.

But you said that the war must be a victorious one. If by these words you understand the declaration of the Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, then we greet such a victory. Such a victory we are all craving for. It will help us to continue the class struggle and will bring us to the kingdom of Socialism. Long live Socialism! Long live the laboring class of America!"

Charles Edward Russell, on June 25, had outlined before the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates the aims of the United States and the reasons which brought the country into the war. His declaration that the United States is fighting only because the very principle of democracy is in danger was cheered by almost the entire assembly.

SENATOR ROOT probably best expressed the purpose of the Mission, speaking at the reception tendered him by the City of New York, after the return of the Mission, on August 15, 1917.

"It was the purpose of this Mission," said Senator Root, "not merely to carry a message of friendship and good feeling from the United States to Russia. As events developed before we reached Russia, it became the function of this group of American citizens to carry to the people of Russia a message of faith in Democracy, to say to them: 'Take heart, be of good cheer; faint not, despair not. We say to you from the hundred million free people of America, who for one hundred and forty years have been fighting the battles of Democracy, that there lives a power in Democracy that will overcome all evil, and it is with you, and with it you will triumph.'"

Senator Root and his Mission had accomplished perfectly the task that had devolved upon them. On the other hand, the Mission brought back a message to the United States, and this message is again best expressed in Senator Root's own words, spoken at the same reception:

"We have come back with faith in Russia, faith in the qualities of character that are the essential tests of competency for self-government, faith in the purpose, the persistence and the power of the Russian people to keep themselves free. And

they know that they cannot be free, that they cannot build up a structure of government based upon and conforming to the life and character and genius of the Russian people if Germany is allowed to dominate in their land."

On the same day, speaking before the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, Senator Root said:

"There is but one danger I see, and that is that Russia may be overwhelmed by Germany; and if that were to happen, the development of the free institutions in Russia, adapted to her life and character and the genius of the Russian people, would be made impossible. The Russians know that—the thoughtful men of Russia know that — and, with courage worthy of all honor, with courage worthy of imitation by us, they are wrestling mightily to prevent that great misfortune. No one can tell what the outcome will be, but this is certain, that Russia, tired of the war, worn and harried by war; Russia, which has lost 7,000,000 of her sons, with every village in mourning, every family bereaved; Russia has again taken up the heavy burden; she has to a great extent restored the discipline of her Army; she has put away the bright vision of peace and rest, and returned yet again to the sacrifice and suffering of war in order that she might continue free."

This statement was made on the eve of the Moscow National Conference, when nobody, even among the Russian statesmen, could have foreseen the inevitability of Russia's temporary collapse. Everybody was certain that Russia would still be saved through the unity of all her progressive forces. The American Mission naturally shared this view and returned to the United States optimistic, with faith in Russia, which now, in the light of the latest developments, may seem ungrounded. But such a conclusion would certainly be extremely superficial.*

It was on the way from the Pacific port to Washington, when Senator Root, being advised of the pessimistic reports coming from Russia, remarked to a group of newspaper men:

*It must be stated that all the foreign statesmen who visited Russia at that time, not only Senator Root, but also the Labor and Socialist leaders, Emile Vandervelde, Albert Thomas, Arturo Labriola and Arthur Henderson,—all of them left Russia optimistic, without any presentiment of the coming catastrophe.

"We took a long time to form the Government of the United States of America, and I judge from the newspapers that we have not yet perfected it and that a great deal remains to be done."

In these few words we have the best reply to all who are pessimistic about Russia. Whatever has happened, the Russian Democracy is still alive and will never return to the old regime or accept the German domination, which is only another form of the old regime. Senator Root's statement that Russia must return to war "in order that she might continue free" still remains the axiom that sums up the Russian situation. This truth was known to the educated Russian classes long ago, and now the German "peace" makes it clear to the masses. Democratic Russia and autocratic Germany at peace with one another while the world is aflame with war for Democracy; Russia "neutral" while Germany is cutting her living body and trampling upon her soul, is such a glaring contradiction that no one can believe in the stability of such a peace.

If the war continues Russia will come back. Russia will come back if she is not dead, and she is far from being dead. And if Russia comes back now, after she has lived through the nightmare of Bolshevism, she will be a decided, a powerful ally, whose behavior will surpass every optimistic hope and every faith entertained by those who know her and love her.

CHAPTER XI

The Russian Mission to the United States

THE Russian Extraordinary Mission to the United States arrived in Washington on June 19, 1917. The Mission was headed by Professor Boris A. Bakhmeteff, the first Ambassador of free Russia to the United States. The Mission included Lieutenant-General V. Roop, Representative of the Russian Army; Professor J. V. Lomonosoff, Representative of the Ministry of Means of Communication; Professor N. A. Borodine, Representative of the Ministry of Agriculture; J. J. Soukine, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; E. I. Omelchenko, of the Ministry of Trade and Industry, and V. J. Novitsky, of the Ministry of Finance.

On July 5 Ambassador Bakhmeteff presented his credentials to President Wilson with the following address:

"Mr. President: I have the honor of presenting to you the letters by which the Provisional Government of Russia is accrediting me to the Government of the United States of America as its Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

My Government has directed me to express to you its profound gratitude for the noble act of prompt recognition by your Government of the new order established in Russia and to convey to the Government and to the people of the United States the feelings of sincere sympathy and friendship.

At the present time the historical paths of the United States and Russia have been drawn close in the common struggle for freedom and lasting peace of the world, and in this strife the new-born Russian Democracy is being guided by the same unselfish aims, the same human and democratic principles as this great Republic.

The success of our mutual task makes essential the firm establishment of the democratic régime in Russia as well as the consolidation of Russia's fighting power. To that end are tending the efforts of the Provisional Government, which is waiting to find a source of new strength in the hearty spirit and brotherly support of the United States. For such attainments the Provisional Government is endeavoring to establish a full understanding and a close coöperation with the Government of this country, whose immense resources and unlimited energy can contribute most effectively to the achievements of our cause. To bring such coöperation into effect and to establish means of common activity on the most practical lines and with no loss of time, the Provisional Government has con-

sidered it necessary to bestow on me exceptional powers to treat and decide, on behalf of my Government, all manifold questions in which such coöperation should have to reveal itself.

To secure unity of action, the Provisional Government has concentrated under my supreme guidance the activities of various Russian institutions and representatives in this country, and has provided for amplified efficacy by sending a number of new, competent delegates who have accompanied me on my Mission.

Confident that the natural sympathy of the two nations will grow into bonds of solid friendship, I look forward with the greatest hopes to the results of the united efforts of the two great Democracies, based on mutual understanding and common aims."

The following is the reply of the President:

"Mr. Ambassador, to the keen satisfaction which I derived from the fact that the Government of the United States was the first to welcome, by its official recognition, the new Democracy of Russia to the family of free States is added the exceptional pleasure which I experience in now receiving from your hand the letters whereby the Provisional Government of Russia accredits you as its Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States, and in according to you formal recognition as the first Ambassador of free Russia to this country.

For the people of Russia the people of the United States have ever entertained friendly feelings, which have now been greatly deepened by the knowledge that, actuated by the same lofty motives, the two Governments and peoples are coöperating to bring to a successful termination the conflict now raging for human liberty and a universal acknowledgment of those principles of right and justice which should direct all Governments. I feel convinced that when this happy day shall come no small share of the credit will be due to the devoted people of Russia, who, overcoming disloyalty from within and intrigue from without, remain steadfast to the cause.

The Mission which it was my pleasure to send to Russia has already assured the Provisional Government that in this momentous struggle and in the problems that confront and will confront the free Government of Russia that Government may count on the steadfast friendship of the Government of the United States and its constant coöperation in all desired appropriate directions.

It only remains for me to give expression to my admiration of the way in which the Provisional Government of Russia are meeting all requirements, to my entire sympathy with them in their noble object to insure to the people of Russia the blessings of freedom and of equal rights and opportunity, and to my faith that through their efforts Russia will assume her rightful place among the great free nations of the world."

PROF. BORIS A. BAKHMETEV

First Ambassador from free Russia to the United States.

On June 21 Ambassador Bakhmeteff issued the following statement to the American press:

"In behalf of the Russian Provisional Government and in behalf of all the people of New Russia, I have been first of all sent here to express their gratitude to the Government of the United States for the prompt recognition of the new political order in Russia.

This noble action of the world's greatest Democracy has afforded us strong moral support and has created among our people a general feeling of profound appreciation.

Close and active relationship between the two nations, based upon complete and sincere understanding, encountered inevitable obstacles during the old regime, because of its very nature. The situation is now radically changed with free Russia starting a new era in her national life. The natural and deep feeling of sympathy which always existed between the people of the two great nations will grow now, by the force of events, into a stable friendship—into permanent and active coöperation.

I have been in this country heretofore on several occasions; I have many friends here and have always looked forward to a close union and friendship between the United States and Russia. The United States with its enormous natural resources and its wonderful genius for organization, can now greatly aid in the work of reconstruction which is taking place in Russia.

Another object of our Mission is to establish the most effective means by which the American and Russian Democracies can work hand in hand in the common task of successfully carrying on the war. The friendly assistance which the United States has already rendered has been of the highest value.

The Provisional Government is actually mobilizing all its resources and is making great efforts to organize the country and the Army for the purpose of conducting the war. We hope to establish a very close and active coöperation with the United States in order to secure the most successful and intensive accomplishments of all work necessary for our common end; for the purpose of discussing all matters relating to military affairs, munitions and supplies, railways and transportation, finance and agriculture, our Mission includes eminent and distinguished specialists.

On the other hand, I hope that the result of our stay and work in America will bring about a clear understanding on the part of your public of what has happened in Russia and also of the present situation and the end for which our people are most earnestly striving. There have been many and various narratives of what has been and is taking place in Russia, but there seems to be lack of exact and true comprehension. Our Commission will make every endeavor to throw

light upon the very great and world important events of the Russian Revolution.

The achievements of the Revolution are to be formally set forth in fundamental laws enacted by a Constituent Assembly which is to be convoked as soon as possible. In the meanwhile the Provisional Government is confronted with the task of bringing into life the democratic principles which were promulgated during the Revolution. It is actively engaged in reconstructing the very life of the entire country along democratic lines introducing freedom, equality and self-government.

New Russia received from the old Government a burdensome heritage of economic and technical disorganization which affected all branches of the life of the State, a disorganization which still weighs heavily on the whole country. The Provisional Government is doing everything in its power to relieve the difficult situation. It has adopted many measures for supplying plants with raw material and fuel, for regulating the transportation of the food supply for the Army and for the country, and for relieving the financial difficulties.

In this energetic work of reconstruction, essential for Russia's active participation in the war, the Provisional Government is steadily gaining in strength and activity. The latest reports demonstrate that the new Government has the capacity to carry on its work with vigor along practical lines and is exercising real power which is daily increasing. Such power is based on the general confidence and full and whole-hearted support accorded the new Coalition Ministry.

The participation in the new Government by new members who are active and prominent leaders in the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates has secured full support from the democratic masses. The esteem in which such leaders as Mr. Kerensky, Tseretelli and others are held among the working classes and soldiers is contributing to the strength and stability of the new Government.

The Constitutional-Democratic Party, the Labor Party, the Socialist-Populists, and, excepting a small group of extremists, the Social-Democrats—all these parties, embracing the vast majority of the people, are represented by strong leaders in the new Government, thereby securing for it authority. Firmly convinced that unity of power is essential and casting aside class and special interests, all social and political elements have joined in the national program which the new Government proclaimed and which it is striving to fulfill.

This program reads:

'The Provisional Government, rejecting, in accord with the whole people of Russia, all thought of separate peace puts it openly as its deliberate purpose the promptest achievement of universal peace; such peace to presume no dominion over other nations, no seizure of

their national property nor any forced usurpation of foreign territory; peace with no annexations or contributions, based upon the free determination by each nation of its destinies.

Being fully convinced that the establishment of democratic principles in its internal and external policy has created a new factor in the striving of the Allied Democracies for durable peace and fraternity of all nations, the Provisional Government will take preparatory steps for an agreement with the Allies founded on its declaration of March 27th. The Provisional Government is conscious that the defeat of Russia and her Allies would be the source of the greatest misery and would not only postpone but even make impossible the establishment of universal peace on a firm basis. The Provisional Government is convinced that the Revolutionary Army of Russia will not allow the German troops to destroy our Allies on the Western Front and then fall upon us with the whole might of their weapons. The chief aim of the Provisional Government will be to fortify the democratic foundations of the Army and organize and consolidate the Army's fighting power for defensive as well as offensive purposes.'

The last decision of the Russian Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, the decision of the All-Russian Peasants' Congress, the decision of the Duma, the voice of the country as expressed from day to day by almost the entire Russian press, in resolutions adopted at different conferences and congresses—all these confirm their full support to this national program and leave not the slightest doubt that Russia is decided as to the necessity to fight the German autocracy until the conditions for a general and stable peace in Europe are established.

Such decision is becoming more and more evident each day in practical work and results and shows itself in the pressing and rapid reorganization of the Army which is now being fulfilled under the firm and efficient measures adopted by Minister Kerensky.

The Russian people thoroughly understand and are fully convinced that it is absolutely necessary to root out the autocratic principles which underlie and are represented by German militarism and which threaten the peace, the freedom and the happiness of the world. The Russian people feel most keenly that no stable peace can be secured until the German autocratic principles are destroyed and that otherwise the Revolution will have been in vain and its achievements will perish.

New Russia, in full accord with the motives which impelled the United States to enter the war, is striving to destroy tyranny, to establish peace on a secure and permanent foundation and to make the world safe for Democracy.

We are representing here the political unity which has crystallized

in Russia and around which a national program has been developed. To our host of friends in the United States we appeal and without distinction of party or class we will work hand in hand for the common cause."

On June 23rd Ambassador B. A. Bakhmeteff made the following speech before the House of Representatives:

"Mr. Speaker, Members of the House of Representatives: I am deeply conscious how great an honor has been conferred on me and the members of my Mission by this gracious reception.. I understand how unusual it is for this House to accord to foreigners the privilege of the floor. I realize that if you were moved to make such an exception it was due to the great and most extraordinary historic events which have been and are now taking place in the world.

Great, indeed, is the honor and the privilege to speak here in this House, exemplifying as it does, the Constitution of the United States —that wonderful document which embodies so clearly and yet so tersely the principles of free government and democracy.

Members of the House of Representatives: When addressing you in behalf of the Government of the people of New Russia, when conveying to you the greeting of the new-born Russian Democracy, you will conceive how impressed I am by the historical significance of this moment, you will understand why my emotions do overwhelm me. During the last few months Russia has really lived through events of world-wide importance. With a single impulse the nation has thrown down the old fetters of slavery. Free, she is entering now the dawn of new life, joining the ranks of Democracy, striving for the happiness and the freedom of the world.

Does one not feel occasionally that the very greatness and significance of events are not fully appreciated due to the facility and spontaneity with which the great change was completed! Is it always fully realized and conceived what it really means to humanity, that a nation of one hundred and eighty millions, a country boundless in expanse, has been suddenly set free form the worst of oppression, has been given the joy and happiness of a free, self-conscious existence!

With what emotions are inspired we—who have come to you as messengers of these great events, as bearers of the new principles proclaimed by the Russian Revolution!

May I be permitted to reiterate the expression of the feelings that stir our hearts, and, impressed as I am by the might and grandeur of the wonderful events, welcome and greet you on behalf of free Russia.

Here, at the very cradle of representative government, I feel it proper to recall the very moments of birth of constitutional life in Russia which presented themselves some twelve years ago, at the time

of the first Russian Revolution. It was then that the Duma came into being. From the very inception of this Assembly the old authority endeavored to curtail the powers that had been conferred on it. Its very existence was an uninterrupted struggle; but in spite thereof, notwithstanding the limitations and narrowness of the election laws, the Duma was bound to play a most important part in the national life of Russia.

It was the very fact of the being of a representative body which proved to be so fruitful and powerful. It was that mysterious force of representation, the force which draws everything into the whirlpool of legislative power, the force the existence of which your American framers of the Constitution so deeply recognized and understood, it was that force which led the Duma, however limited, to express the feelings of Russia and frame her hopes during the world's great crisis, and made the Duma ultimately the center and the hope of national life.

It was the Duma, which, at the epoch when the old authority by vicious and inefficient management had disorganized the supplies of the country and brought the military operations to unprecedented reverses—it was the Duma, which, with energy and devotion, called the people to organize national defense and appealed to the vital forces of the country to meet the German attack and save the nation from definite subjugation. Again, when it appeared that the short-sighted Government, which never took advantage of the patriotic enthusiasm and national sacrifice, was not only incapable of leading the war to a successful end, but would inevitably bring Russia to military collapse and economic and social ruin—it was the Duma again which at that terrible hour proclaimed the nation in danger. It was at the feet of the Duma that the soldiers of the Revolution deposed their banners and, giving allegiance, brought the Revolution to a successful issue. It was then that from the ruins of the old regime emerged a new order embodied in the Provisional Government, a youthful offspring of the old Duma procreated by the forces of the Revolution.

Instead of the old forms, there is now being firmly established and deeply embedded in the minds of the nation the principle that power is reposed in and springs from, and only from, the people. To effectuate this principle and to enact appropriate fundamental laws, that is going to be the main function of the Constituent Assembly which is to be convoked as promptly as possible.

This Assembly, elected on a democratic basis, is to represent the will and constructive power of the nation. It will inaugurate the forms of future political existence as well as establish the fundamental basis of the economic structure of future Russia. Eventually all main questions of national being will be brought before, and will be de-

cided by the Constituent Assembly: constitution, civil and criminal law, administration, nationalities, conditions of labor, annihilation of all restrictive legislation, encouragement of intense and fruitful development of the country. Such are the tasks of the Assembly, the aspirations and hopes of the nation.

Members of the House: Don't you really feel that the Assembly is expected to bring into life once more the grand principle which your illustrious President so aptly expressed into the sublime words, 'Government by consent of the governed'!

It is the Provisional Government that is governing Russia at present. It is the task of the Provisional Government to conduct Russia safely to the Constituent Assembly. Guided by democratic precepts the Provisional Government meanwhile is reorganizing the country on the basis of freedom, equality and self-government, is rebuilding its economic and financial structure.

The outstanding feature of the present Government is its recognition of the principles of legality as fundamental and all important. It is manifestly understood in Russia that law, having its origin in the people's will, is the substance of the very existence of the State.

Reposing confidence in such rule, the Russian people are rendering to the new authorities their support. The people are realizing more and more that for the very sake of further freedom law must be maintained and manifestation of anarchy suppressed. In this respect local life has exemplified the wonderful exertion of spontaneous public spirit which has contributed most effectively to the process of self-organization of the nation. On many occasions, following the removal of the old authorities, a newly elected administration has naturally arisen, conscious of national interest and often developing in its spontaneity amazing examples of practical statesmanship.

It is these conditions which prove that the Provisional Government is gaining every day importance and power, is gaining capacity to check elements of disorder arising either from attempts of reaction or extremism. At the present time the Provisional Government has started to take most decisive measures in that respect, employing force when necessary, although always striving for a peaceful solution.

The last resolutions which have been framed by the Council of Workingmen, the Council of Peasants and other democratic organizations render the best proof of the general understanding of the necessity of creating strong power. The coalitionary character of the new Cabinet, which includes eminent Socialist leaders and represents all the vital elements of the nation, therefore enjoying its full support, is most effectively securing the unity and power of the

central Government, the lack of which was so keenly felt during the first two months after the Revolution.

Realizing the grandeur and complexity of the present events and conscious of the danger which is threatening the very achievements of the Revolution, the Russian people are gathering around the new Government, united on a 'national program.'

It is this program of 'national salvation' which has united the middle classes as well as the populists, the labor elements and Socialists. Deep political wisdom has been exhibited by subordinating various class interests and differences to national welfare. In this way this Government is supported by an immense majority of the nation, and outside of the reactionaries is being opposed only by comparatively small groups of extremists and internationalists.

As to foreign policy, Russia's national program has been clearly set forth in the statement of the Provisional Government of March 27th and more explicitly in the declaration of the new Government of May 18th.

With all emphasis may I state that Russia rejects any idea of separate peace. I am aware that rumors were circulated in this country that a separate peace seemed probable. I am happy to affirm that such rumors were wholly without foundation in fact.

What Russia is aiming for is the establishment of a firm and lasting peace between democratic nations. The triumph of German autocracy would render such peace impossible. It would be the source of the greatest misery and besides that be a threatening menace to Russia's freedom. The Provisional Government is making all endeavor to reorganize and fortify the Army for action in common with its Allies.

Members of the House, I will close my address by saying: 'Russia will not fail to be a worthy partner in the League of Honor.'"

THE following is the address Ambassador B. A. Bakhmeteff delivered before the United States Senate, on June 26, 1917:

"Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Senate: At the outset permit me to express to you sincere thanks and keen appreciation for the warm reception you have so graciously given to the members of the Mission and to myself. Great is the honor you have bestowed upon me by permitting me to address your distinguished body, abrogating thus a custom which has been upheld for more than a century, but still more gratifying is the expression of cordial sympathy and friendly feeling which have been so manifestly exhibited by your reception.

From the moment of our arrival in this country we have been

deeply affected by the extraordinary greeting accorded us and by the constant expression of hearty welcome and sincere sympathy with which we have been hailed from all sides.

That bonds of friendship and sympathy united the people of the two nations we knew before we departed from Russia. This was amply manifested during the early days of the Revolution. The act of prompt recognition of our new Government has been of incalculable value. For the brotherly encouragement which you gave us, and for the noble manner in which you so generously stretched forth a helping hand we are here, in behalf of the New Russia, to express to you our deepest and most heartfelt gratitude.

We have come here as well to make clear the spirit and meaning of the great events taking place in our country. A thorough understanding is indispensable to enable our Mission to accomplish the important task of establishing close and effective coöperation between the two countries for common action and for common cause.

With the greatest of hopes do I look forward to the results of such coöperation, so vital to our mutual desire to form a league of honor among free nations on the smoking ruins of German autocratic militarism. At this moment all eyes are turned to Russia. Many hopes and many doubts are raised by the tide of events in the greatest of revolutions, at an epoch of the world's greatest war. Justifiable is the attention, lawful the hopes and naturally conceivable the anxiety. The fate of nations, the fate of the world is at stake, all dependent on the fate of Russia.

Freedom and peace will be the blessings of the future if Russia happily emerges from the struggle as a powerful democracy, sparkling with the gallantry of her Army, returning from fields won in common strife with her Allies.

An unprecedented epoch of spiritual depression, a new period of strenuous and anxious military preparation would follow should Russia fail to accomplish her task of political regeneration or should she collapse for economical reasons or the inefficiency of her arms.

In all frankness and sincerity do I expose my cause, confident of your good will and paying tribute to the manifest feelings of sympathy, may I say, affection. I am not going to conceal the gravity of the situation that confronts the Russian Provisional Government. The Revolution called for the reconstruction of the very foundations of our national life. It is not easy to comprehend what it means to organize all of Russia on democratic lines. Such work involves the whole of our social, economic and political relations. The entire State structure is affected by the changes, involving village, district, county, in fact, every town from the smallest to the central State. The creation anew of a country of boundless expanse on distinctly new principles will, of course, take time, and impatience should not be shown

in the understanding of so grand an event as Russia's entry into the ranks of free nations.

We should not forget that in this immense transformation various interests will seek to assert themselves, and until the work of settlement is completed a struggle among opposing currents is inevitable and exaggerations cannot be avoided. Attempts on the part of disorganizing elements to take advantage of this moment of transition must be expected and met with calmness and confidence.

In exposing to you a true picture of the situation I feel that it is my duty to present to you two considerations which make me feel that Russia has passed the stage when the future appeared vague and uncertain. In the first place, it is the firm conviction of the necessity of legality which is widely developing and firmly establishing itself throughout the country. In the eyes of the Russian people this principle of legality is based on the fertile democratic doctrine that Governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed and hence that a strong Government must be created by the will of the people.

Three days ago, in the House of Representatives, I stated that a strong majority of the Russian people had united around the Coalition Cabinet on a national program. I mentioned the confidence and powerful support which the Government is at present enjoying and which from day to day gives it more strength and determination not only to suppress acts of lawlessness on the part of disorganizing forces, but also to carry out the constructive work of national organization. My latest advices give joyful confirmation of the establishment of a firm power, strong in its democratic precepts and activity, strong in the trust reposed in it by the people, in its ability to enforce law and order.

In the second place, and no less important, is the growing conviction that the issues of the Revolution and the future of Russia's freedom are closely connected with the fighting might of the country. It is such power, it is the force of arms which alone can define and make certain the achievements of the Revolution against autocratic aggression.

There has been a period, closely following the Revolution, of almost total suspension of all military activity, a period of what appeared to be disintegration of the Army, a period which gave rise to serious doubts and to gloomy forebodings. At the same time there ensued unlimited freedom of speech and of the press which afforded opportunities for expression of the most extreme and anti-national views, from all of which resulted widespread rumors throughout the world that Russia would abandon the war and conclude a separate peace with the Central Powers.

With all emphasis and with the deepest conviction may I reiterate

the statement that such rumors are wholly without foundation in fact. Russia rejects with indignation any idea of separate peace. What my country is striving for is the establishment of a firm and lasting peace between democratic nations. Russia is firmly convinced that a separate peace would mean the triumph of German autocracy, would render lasting peace impossible, would create the greatest danger for Democracy and liberty and be an everthreatening menace to the new-born freedom of Russia.

These rumors were due to misapprehension of the significance of the eventful processes of reorganization which the Army was to undergo as a result of the emancipation of the country. Like the nation, the Army, an offspring of the people, had to be rebuilt on democratic lines. Such work takes time, and friction and partial disorganization must be overcome. To adopt new principles to a body so huge and so very important as is a modern army is no simple task. Patience is required to mold it in accordance with forms of democracy and personal liberty, preserving at the same time the discipline so essential for success on the field of battle.

One must also realize that the times have passed when the fates of nations could be decided by an irresponsible Government or by a few individuals and when the people shed their blood for issues to them unknown. We live in a democratic epoch where people who sacrifice their lives should fully realize the principles for which they are fighting.

Just as the Russian people had to undergo a process of reorganization and political revolution, so also did the Army. It was necessary for it to outlive illusions and deceptions, and to rally around a program of historical necessity and national truth.

The national program of the Government calls for effective organization and consolidation of the Army's fighting power for offensive as well as defensive purposes. This is the outcome, the crystallization of the will of the people. This is the war program of the nation which has rallied around the Government, the Democracy of Russia, giving its leaders vigor and strength.

Conscious of the enormous task, the Provisional Government is taking measures to promptly restore throughout the country the conditions of life so deeply disorganized by the inefficiency of the previous rulers and to provide for whatever is necessary for military success. In this respect exceptional and grave conditions call for exceptional means. In close touch with the Pan-Peasant Congress, the Government has taken control of stores of food supplies and is providing for effective transportation and just distribution. Following examples of other countries at war, the Government has undertaken the regulation of the production of main products vital for the country and the Army. The Government at the same time

is making all endeavor to settle labor difficulties, taking measures for the welfare of workmen, consistent with active production necessitated by national welfare.

As to the Army, the process of crystallization of the national will is expressing itself in a growing sentiment of general and common appreciation of the events and a thorough understanding of the situation.

Peaceful in its intentions, striving for a lasting peace, based on democratic principles and established by democratic will, the Russian people and its Army are rallying their forces around the banners of freedom, strengthening their ranks in cheerful self-consciousness, to die but not to be slaves.

Russia wants the world to be safe for Democracy. To make it safe means to have Democracy rule the world."

CHAPTER XII

On the Eve of the Offensive

AFTER months of fiery debates, at many conferences and conventions of Workmen's, Soldiers', Peasants' and Cossacks' Delegates, as to what the military policy of Revolutionary Russia should be, on July 1, 1917, the Russian Army started its offensive.

This offensive is closely associated with A. F. Kerensky's name. As Minister of War, Kerensky accomplished an enormous and, as we shall see later, an extremely difficult task in bringing the Army to an offensive. But, with all due credit to Kerensky's personal efforts, it must be stated most emphatically that in all his endeavors he merely executed the supreme will of the Russian Democracy which, through its various organs, was urging the Army and its leaders to begin an active policy. If the offensive ended in disaster, if the policy of an offensive at that time were to be criticised now, in the light of the latest events, this criticism should be directed not against Kerensky but against all the organized bodies of the Russian Democracy which influenced and directed the policy of the Provisional Government.

We will quote from a resolution adopted on June 25, five days before the offensive started, by the All-Russian Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. At this Congress were represented 305 local Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. One thousand and ninety Delegates were present; among others, there were twenty-one representatives from the front. So, it may be said that the Congress represented, to a very considerable degree, the Russian proletariat and Army.*

This Congress said in its resolution regarding the war: "The Congress reiterates that as long as the war is not ended through the efforts of the democratic elements of all nations,

---

*The representation, according to main parties, was as follows: Socialists-Revolutionists—285; Mensheviki—248; Bolsheviki—105; Non-Partisan Socialists—73; Internationalists—32; Bund—10; "Edinstvo" (Plekhanov's Group)—3.

the Russian Revolutionary Democracy must, in every way possible, help to strengthen the fighting power of the Army and its capacity for defensive and offensive operations, because the disruption of the Russian Front would be a defeat of the Russian Revolution and a heavy blow to the cause of international Democracy. The Congress thinks that the question of an offensive must be decided exclusively from the point of view of purely military and strategic considerations."

On July 18, two weeks after the offensive started, the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Council of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates issued the following joint appeal to the Army:

"Comrades—Soldiers! The All-Russian Congress of Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates and the All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Delegates have equally recognized the necessity for fortifying and strengthening the military might of the Army and its power for defensive and offensive operations as long as the war lasts.

The workingmen, soldiers and peasants who have come from all over Russia and from all parts of the front recognize that the Commanding Staff alone may decide as to place and time for an offensive.

Now the military authorities, acting under the direct leadership of our comrade, Minister of War Kerensky, have given orders to advance. The revolutionary troops on the Southwestern Front are obeying this order heroically, knowing that they are performing a great service to the cause of freedom, the cause of peace and the cause of the Revolution.

The offensive has begun. Our brothers are shedding their blood for the common cause. All discord must vanish now. All must help those who stand in the front ranks under the enemy's fire. Not to come to their assistance now would mean to subject them to the danger of annihilation, would mean a betrayal of the Fatherland and the Revolution.

And yet there are newspapers, which, by their articles and appeals, create confusion in the hearts of those who are ready to hasten to the assistance of our heroic Army and weaken their enthusiasm to support the revolutionary soldiers on the Southwestern Front.

Beware, comrades, for these papers, no matter what they are called, whether it be 'The Truth' or 'The Soldier's Truth,' are directly antagonistic to the clearly expressed will of the workers, soldiers and peasants who have met at the All-Russian Congress.

Beware, comrades, for even worse things are happening everywhere. These very imprudent articles and appeals of these papers are being made use of by scoundrelly-spying gendarmes, policemen.

A. F. KERENSKY

During his visit to the Front, as Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armies.

A. F. KERENSKY
During his tour along the Front.

who use these to accomplish their black work of sedition, to call you to betray your own brothers, who are giving their lives for our common cause.

Comrades—warriors! In the name of the All-Russian Council of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates, we say to you:

Obey only the call of the All-Russian Council!

Carry out all the war orders of your military Commander!

Be ready, every one of you, at the first order to march out to the assistance of your brothers!

Let them know that all Revolutionary Russia is behind them!"

This was the voice of the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Council of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates. The Cossacks' judgment, regarding the war policy, was voiced in the following resolution, unanimously adopted by the All-Russian Cossacks' Congress on June 27:

"The All-Russian Cossacks' Congress holds that the only means for obtaining the peace so needed for the proper up-building of the Government appears to be an immediate and decisive offensive. There must be no separate peace. The war must, in complete harmony with our Allies, be brought to a victory that will make possible the conclusion of peace on the basis of the complete self-determination of all nations, without forcible annexations or punitive indemnities.

The Congress greets all the live Russian forces and Army units that are preserving their courage and sensible discipline, and calls upon all citizens of Russia to support the Liberty Loan and to give everything possible for the prosecution of the war. Deserters and all those who carry on agitation which disorganizes the country and destroys the strength of the Army, the Congress declares traitors to the country, and draws the attention of the Provisional Government to the necessity for taking the most resolute measures against deserters and against criminal agitators as well."

On June 16, the Duma, in private session, after speeches by S. I. Shidlovsky, V. V. Shulgin, P. N. Miliukov and V. A. Maklakov, had adopted the following resolution:

"A separate peace with Germany or an actual truce with her, a withdrawal on the part of Russia from the struggle just at the time when the other powers are making self-sacrificing efforts in order to conclude the struggle, would be base treachery towards the Allies, a treachery for which posterity will not forgive our generation. If we conclude a separate peace, Germany will have completely achieved the aims which she set out to achieve. This peace will cut Russia off morally from the rest of Europe. Russia's name will be scorned

for decades in all countries where loyalty is respected and treachery branded. Concluding such a peace, Russia, fenced off from the rest of the world by this impassable mountain chain of countries allied with Germany, will have to submit to all the demands of this alliance, and will become for it a field for exploitation and profiteering. The great Russia will be transformed into a German colony, which will be exploited in accordance with the theories, worked out by the German scientists, that Slavdom, as an inferior race, must serve only as a soil for the flourishing of German culture.

In this critical hour, the members of the Duma consider it their duty to remind the country that Russia is now faced with the terrible question: to be or not to be. The Duma considers it its duty to appeal to Russia, to all citizens, and in particular to the warriors of Russia, reminding them that the fate of the Fatherland is in their own hands, that to retreat from the international humane cause binding us to the Allies means to become the slaves of the German people.

The Duma recognizes that only in an immediate offensive, in a close union with the Allies, lies the sole hope of a speedy liquidation of the war and the strengthening of the liberties won by the people."

The above-given resolutions show clearly that A. F. Kerensky had behind him all the classes of the Russian Democracy when, on the eve of the offensive, he, as Minister of War, issued the following command to the Army:

"Russia, liberated from the chains of slavery, is firmly resolved to protect, at all costs, the rights of honor and liberty. With faith in the fraternal feelings of nations, the Russian Democracy called upon the warring countries to cease the carnage and to conclude an honorable peace, securing tranquility for all nations; but, in response to this fraternal appeal, the enemy has proposed treason.

The Austro-Germans have offered Russia a separate peace and tried to blind our vigilance by fraternization, hurling themselves at the same time against our Allies with the hope of crushing us after their defeat. Convinced now that Russia will not allow herself to be tricked, the enemy is threatening us and concentrating troops on our front.

Warriors, our Motherland is in danger. Our freedom and the Revolution are in peril. The time has come when our Army must accomplish its duty. Your Commanding General, beloved through victory, proclaims that each day lost adds new strength to our enemy, and that only an immediate, decisive blow can disrupt the plans of the foe.

Therefore, fully conscious of the great responsibility of the country, in the name of the free Russian people and its Provisional Gov-

ernment, I call upon the Armies, invigorated by the Revolution, to start the offensive. The enemy must wait before celebrating victory.

All nations must know that it was not through weakness that we talked peace. Let them know that liberty strengthens our forces. Officers and soldiers, you must realize that all Russia is blessing your acts on the field of honor. In the name of liberty, future prosperity, and in the name of a lasting and honorable peace, I command you, 'Forward!'"

OF the many occurrences of this period, the eve of the Revolutionary offensive, of special interest is the verbal duel between Lenine, later the head of the Bolsheviki Government, and Kerensky at the All-Russian Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates on June 22. Lenine suggested the immediate overthrow of the capitalistic system, arguing that otherwise it is impossible to end the war. He admitted that Germany had conquered much territory, but had also lost much; England had also taken much territory. He declared it doubtful that she would return it of her own accord.

Lenine was indignant over the fact that the Bolsheviki were accused of desiring a separate peace: "Down with separate peace," he cried; "we will never consent to it!" In concluding, he expressed his firm conviction that the chances are nine to one of his tactics being successful, and read a letter from a peasant who approved the tactics of the Bolsheviki.

Kerensky made his answer to Lenine in the following words, and his words may be taken as the answer of the Russian Democracy to Bolshevism, at that time.

Kerensky's Speech

"My fellow-citizen, Lenine, has concluded his speech with a quotation. Allow me also to begin my speech with the quotation from a document. You remember the reply of the Executive Committee to the provocateur appeal of Prince Ludwig of Bavaria. I have now before me a new wireless message, sent out on June 7, at 2 o'clock, a response to the reply of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates:

'The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates says that the Russian Revolutionary Democracy is unwavering in its course towards universal peace. This is also our aim. But to attain this aim only

two substantial proposals were made, and both by us. The first peace offer was made by the Central Powers in December, 1916. The Central Powers offered to enter into peace negotiations at an early date, in order to avert further bloodshed and to put an end to the horrors of war. The hand which we proffered was rejected by the Governments of the Entente with a sneer. But at that time Russia was dominated by the Tzar. Our second offer was made in the form of a circular proclamation issued by the Austro-Hungarian Commander-in-Chief. The Central Powers expressed their readiness to appoint their authorized representatives for the purpose of negotiating about the war aims and the possibility of an armistice. At that time the Tzar's Government was no longer in existence and its place had been taken by the Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. What was the answer this time? Russia wants peace without annexations and without indemnities, but at the same time she does not wish to renounce her treaties with England, France and Italy. Do you know of these treaties? We, Germans, do not know their exact context, but we know what England, France and Italy want of us. In this manner is one of the specific aims stated, namely, that Austria-Hungary is to cede to Italy Trieste, Trentino and Dalmatia. Mr. Ribot, the French Prime Minister, said: "We don't want any conquests, but that does not mean that we have renounced our right to demand Alsace-Lorraine. We will fight until these Provinces are restored to our country." The Provinces about which Mr. Ribot is now speaking are old German territory, of which we were robbed 200 years ago. Briand wants to annex the entire left bank of the Rhine River and the German colonies. All this is sanctioned by England and the former Russian Government. France, England and Italy are demanding vast annexations, and in addition, an indemnity of 100 billions, and Russia wants peace without annexations or indemnities. Is this, in your opinion, not a contradiction? Wherein lies the truth? Are there any war aims of the Entente Powers which Russia has not rejected, or is the desire prevalent to make the peace which has time and again been voiced in the ranks of the Russian Army? If the new Russian Government, at the instigation of the Allies, wishes to be convinced whether the German divisions of heavy artillery are still present on the Eastern Front, let them do it. Acting in this way, it will, of course, cleave away from the idea of a universal peace and will go further along the road upon which the former Russian Government so successfully retreated, namely, the road that leads to new fraternal graves. When will you finally become convinced that your gravedigger is England? Even as 13 years ago, she, for her own ends, led you into war with Japan, so is she now ruining you in order to

strengthen her world domination. Commander-in-Chief of the German Eastern Front.'

Our answer to this was prompt: 'Having received the wireless message intended to provoke us, we, united in the love for our country, are calling upon all the true sons of Russia to brand with contempt this new declaration of the German fist; we call upon all to place their fullest confidence in our Revolutionary Government. We go and shall continue to go down to the old graves of our brothers, in order to attain happiness and liberty. A Division of the Russian Revolutionary Front.'

We are called upon to reject a separate peace with our own capitalists and we are told that in this manner we shall best aid the triumph of the Revolution. This is practically the same thing that the German prince is offering us. (Applause.)

We are being told that England wishes to ruin us. Is it not a fact that the Bolshevist propositions do not find any favorable reception in feudal Germany? What we are advised to do will not lead to the beginning of a world revolution, but to the end of the Russian Revolution. While carrying out Lenine's suggestion, we shall lead the Russian Democracy out of the historic conditions under which the entire world exists and rise in rebellion against the laws of economic development. Such a course cannot but lead to ruin and failure of those principles for which we are fighting."

A. F. Kerensky then proceeded to discuss the policy of the Provisional Government as regards the war aims, and said:

"We are gradually compelling the Government of Russia and the democratic countries to accept our position. You heard what the representatives of the majority of the German Social-Democratic Party said in Stockholm. If you will compare this with what Ribot said, you will see that there is not such a wide gulf between the two. (Applause from the Bolsheviki.)

We are being told that the policy of the Provisional Government is also in the interests of the capitalists. Comrades, there is a limit where ignorance comes in contact with the deliberate distortion of truth. The Provisional Government follows the course dictated by the intelligence of the Democracy and by the interests of Democracy the world over. We can testify that our international policy yields great positive results. You know that a conference for the purpose of revising the treaties has already become possible. We are very definitely and consistently carrying out this line of international policy which alone leads to the successful solution of the tasks before us. And yet, we are being told that we are doing the will of the Russian capitalists and are acting under the influence of Russian bankers.

If this were so, then the Cabinet crisis would not have led to

a Coalition Government with Socialist Ministers, but to Miliukov's policy. If the German Social-Democrats were able and strong enough to compel their Government to follow us, they would have to start a fight in their own country first. Lenine knows this. And if this is so, why did not Lenine stop in Germany while on his way to Russia and why did he not remain there to preach his ideas, (Loud applause.) and, if necessary, go to jail, side by side with Liebknecht? (Protest on the part of the Bolsheviki.)

We are being invited to launch upon a Socialist and social adventure. We cannot follow this course. We are at present organizing the country and the Army so that the Army should be able to fight and do its duty whether it will have to remain on the defensive or on the offensive. We know that a passive defensive is not a defensive, but amounts to a voluntary consent to be robbed. And there was a good reason for Robert Grimm to wire via Berlin that a German offensive on our front would endanger the cause of peace. When we do not wish to do some one else's will, we are threatened with heavy artillery. Now what are you going to do about it? Will you get scared? (Shouts from the majority of the Conference: "No!")

We are being told: 'Do not let the Allies lead you by the nose.' The Allies do not lead us by the nose. Just now the Russian troops have been absolutely forbidden to land together with the Allied troops near Athens. We exert an influence over the Allied Governments that are more democratic than the Governments of Germany and Austria, through our Revolution and the charm of our ideas. We are helping those nations that want liberty and the right to work out their own destinies, but we must first of all safeguard our own political and economic freedom. This liberty depends upon what resistance it can offer to the pressure of international capital. We are being told that the German Socialists are awaiting the moment when we shall finally persuade the Allies to consent to our terms of peace on the principle of self-determination of nationalities. Yes, they are waiting, but meanwhile helping the German Commander-in-Chief. They tell us that we are in favor of peace without annexations and without indemnities, and at the same time we continue to annex the Provinces that we occupy; for instance, we do not evacuate the free republic of Armenia. These words betray such profound ignorance of the conditions on our Caucasus front that there is no room for argument here. (Applause.)

I shall not answer any accusations regarding Finland and the Ukraine. But, relying on public opinion in the ranks of the Russian Democracy, I say that in time of war it is absolutely impossible to effect any rearrangements on the principle of nationalism. (Voices: "Correct.") Every officer and soldier understands that this is impossible from point of view of technique.

Read the document of the Finnish Social-Democratic Party and you will understand how far removed from the truth were the Bolsheviki, who even two weeks ago denied that the Finns were aspiring for their independence. We appeal to the comrades and Socialists of all nationalities residing in Russia, and say: 'Now that the Russian Democracy has sounded the principle of self-determination of nationalities, do not adopt any tactics that would destroy the brotherly union of all the toilers. Come with us. Do not let yourselves be carried away by chauvinist tendencies.' In so far as these aspirations are menacing the Russian Revolution, we say: 'This must not be done.'"

A. F. Kerensky further stated that he had not forbidden, but had only refused to sanction the official despatching of Delegates to the Socialist Conference.

"I am often reproached because the bourgeois press approves of my policy. But if I were to bring here press comments of our enemies and if I were to show that it favored the tactics of some of our Parties, would you not say that I was a villain and a scoundrel? (Boisterous applause.)

At a closed session I gave a detailed explanation and said that it was my task to transform the Russian Army into a revolutionary Army, democratized from top to bottom, while preserving within the Army the iron discipline of duty towards the Revolution—such an Army for which personal safety and welfare are subordinated to the common good, to the cause of liberty and the triumph of those ideas for which one can sacrifice his happiness and life. As Minister of War, I am glad to testify that the brains of the Army are with me and I with them. (Boisterous applause.)

As Minister of War, to whom the pacification and the organization of the Army is a task of primary importance, I appeal to you, representatives of all Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, to give your moral support to the Russian Revolution and to its Government, to defend it against anarchy and demoralizing influences, to call the country to order and in case of extreme necessity to authorize us to use every means at our command in order to prevent our enemies from the Right from triumphing through the anarchy from the Left." (Shouts: "Please, please!" "Go to it!")

CHAPTER XIII

The Great Crisis—July, 1917

THE offensive started on July 1st resulted in disaster because of the mutiny in the Russian Army. This, together with an offensive started by the Austro-German Army, created a situation where the Provisional Government found it necessary to resort to extraordinary, strict measures to restore discipline in the military ranks.

Due to the crisis, Prime-Minister Prince G. E. Lvov had resigned from the Cabinet, and A. F. Kerensky had been appointed in his place, retaining the portfolio of Minister of War. One of the first acts of the new Cabinet was the following appeal to the Army issued on July 21, 1917:

"Three weeks ago, in compliance with the order of the Minister of War, the armies of the Southwestern Front, under the leadership of the Commander-in-Chief, with mighty revolutionary enthusiasm, started an offensive. About 36,000 prisoners of war, more than 90 guns and 400 machine guns were captured. The glorious name of the 'regiments of the 18th of June'* will henceforth be recorded in the history of the Revolution. These heroic fighters placed above their personal lives, their honor, the life of the free Fatherland and the salvation of the Russian Revolution, which was threatened by loyalty to Wilhelm's bayonets on the front and by a treacherous mutiny in the rear.

The mutiny in the rear has been suppressed by the people's authority, but the Revolution is still in great danger.

Mustering his forces, the enemy also started an offensive. Let his insidious plan of simultaneous invasion of the front and treacherous attack from the rear serve to unite more closely all those to whom Russia and her liberty are not empty words.

Soldiers of the Revolutionary Armies! Your brothers that have gone into the battle with red flags call upon you to join them in the attack for the defense of liberty, for just terms of a lasting peace.

By the will of the revolutionary people, at the first order of your military superiors, march forward in close ranks. Save liberty, save the Fatherland."

The Commander-in-Chief of the Southwestern Front, General Kornilov, addressed the following appeal to the troops:

"Madness, dishonor and treachery of several parts of the

*June 18th in the Russian calendar is equivalent to July 1, new style.

Eleventh and Seventh Armies have inscribed dark pages in the history of the free Russian Army, pages which will be remembered forever and ever. The Russian Army has not known a like disgrace, has not suffered such degradation from the very beginning of its existence, and our old regimental banners have never been abased so low in the hands of our fathers and forefathers.

During these gloomy days of nightmare only the fighting valor of the infantry regiments who have remained true to their duty, of all the shock and motor-cycle battalions, of all the armored divisions and all the artillery, Cossack and cavalry sections repulsed the advance of the enemy and put a damper upon the Satanic joy of the German Emperor, Wilhelm. Glory to you, foremost and valiant sons of Great Russia! Glory to you, fearless and manly fighters for the Fatherland and freedom! The country will never forget your self-sacrifices, and the coming happiness and greatness of the Fatherland will be the fruit of your acts and your heroism.

Officers and the few soldiers of the infantry regiments who have remained true to your duty, who have not dishonored yourselves by shameful flight and treachery, I am addressing myself to you. Your deeds are immortal; your heroism will enrich history and posterity. A country possessing valiant citizens like you does not perish and cannot perish. Deserted by your seditious and treacherous comrades—soldiers overpowered by mad propaganda—you alone remained at your positions, and throwing against the strong numbers of the enemy only your unlimited valor and bravery you perished in the unequal fight of one against several dozens of the advancing enemy. You, heroic officers and loyal soldiers, have paid with your lives for the dishonor of your own Army, but your blood is the pledge of the regeneration of the beloved regiments and of the rebuilding of the fighting might of our Army.

A few weeks will pass and the revived, free Russian Army, having liberated itself from the madness of enticement and the mire of disintegration, will stand up with formidable, mighty power against the enemy, and then it will inscribe your names in sparkling letters in the memory of the coming generations."

The Executive Committee of the All-Russian Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates, on July 22, in night session, decided to confer supreme and unlimited power on Kerensky's Cabinet and adopted the following resolution, which was passed by a majority of 252 votes to 57:

"Recognizing that the country is menaced by a military debacle on the front and by anarchy at home, it is resolved:

First—That the country and the Revolution are endangered.

Second—That the Provisional Government be proclaimed the Government of National Safety.

Third—That unlimited powers be accorded the Government for re-establishing the organization and discipline of the Army for a fight to the finish against the enemies of public order and for the realization of the whole program embodied in the Government program just announced."*

At the same time the Executive Committee issued the following appeal to the Army:

Fellow-soldiers: One of our armies has wavered, its regiments have fled before the enemy. Part of our front has been broken. Emperor Wilhelm's hordes, which have moved forward, are bringing with them death and destruction.

Who is responsible for this humiliation? The responsibility rests with those who have spread discord in the Army and shaken its discipline, with those who at a time of danger disobeyed the military commands and wasted time in fruitless discussions and disputes.

Many of those who left the line and sought safety in running away paid with their lives for having disobeyed orders. The enemy's fire mowed them down. If this costly lesson has taught you nothing, then there will be no salvation for Russia.

Enough of words! The time has come to act without hesitation. We have acknowledged the Provisional Government. With the Government lies the salvation of the Revolution. We have acknowledged its unlimited authority and its unlimited power. Its commands must be law. All those who in battle disobey the commands of the Provisional Government will be regarded as traitors. To traitors and cowards no mercy will be shown.

Fellow-soldiers: You want a durable peace. You want your land, your freedom. Then you must know that only by a stubborn struggle will you win peace for Russia and all nations. If you yield before the troops of the German Emperor, you lose both your land and your freedom. The conquering, imperialistic Germans will force you again and again to fight for your interests.

Fellow-soldiers at the front: Let there be no traitors or cowards among you. Let not one of you retreat a single step before the foe. Only one way is open for you—the way forward.

Fellow-soldiers in the rear: Be ready to advance to the front for the support of your brothers, abandoned and betrayed, fleeing from their positions. Summon all your strength for the struggle for a durable peace, for your land and your freedom. Without wavering, without fear, without disastrous discussions, carry out all military commands. At the time of battle disobedience and wavering

*The program is given on pp. 432-433.

are worse than treachery. Your ruin, the ruin of Russia lies in disobedience and wavering.

Fellow-soldiers: You are being watched by those who work for Russia, and by the whole world. The ruin of the Russian Revolution spells ruin for all. Summon up all your manhood, your perseverance and sense of discipline and save the Fatherland."

Confronted with the symptoms of spreading demoralization and disintegration in the Army, the Provisional Government found it necessary to restore capital punishment, abolished in the early days of the Revolution, and on July 25 it issued the following decree:

"The shameful conduct of several military divisions in the rear as well as on the front, who have forgotten their duty towards the Fatherland and who have placed Russia and the Revolution on the verge of ruin, compels the Provisional Government to adopt extraordinary measures in order to restore order and discipline in the ranks of the Army.

Fully conscious of the burden of responsibility for the fate of the Fatherland, the Provisional Government finds it necessary:

1. To restore the death penalty for the duration of the war for those in the military service, for most serious crimes.
2. To establish military-revolutionary courts, consisting of soldiers and officers, for the immediate trial of such criminals."

Unfortunately, even the extraordinary measures resorted to by the Provisional Government could not stop the process of disintegration which, in a few months after the July crisis, with the Bolsheviki coming into power, resulted in the complete annihilation of the once so powerful and glorious Russian Army. To understand this process it is necessary to understand not only and not so much the faults and failures of the Provisional Government, as the criminal policy of the old régime in its relation to the Army.

From the beginning of the war, in 1914, up to the Revolution the Tzar's Government mobilized not less than 14-15 million men. These figures are approximate because even the Tzar's officials did not possess exact data as to how many men were called to active service in Russia. Not infrequently we find here and there, coming from authoritative sources, that during the two and a half years of war before the Revolution the Tzar's Government mobilized up to 18 or 19 million men.

These enormous masses of people were thrown almost bare-

handed against the wonderfully equipped Teutonic armies. It is enough to recall the tragedy of 1915, when the Russian Army had to retreat from Galicia and give up Poland because there were no shells for the Russian guns. But this is not all, —the Russian soldiers were not even given enough rifles. At the trial of General Sukhomlinov, the Secretary of War under the old régime, who has been sentenced, for high treason, to life imprisonment at hard labor, General Yanushkevitch, the former Chief of the Russian General Staff, stated: "There were times during our retreat from Galicia, in the summer of 1915, when the Germans, knowing that we did not have any shells, would put their guns at a distance of only 2000 yards and shoot down one helpless regiment after another. We had no guns, we had no rifles. In the very beginning of the war one rifle, on the average, was given to two soldiers. Then it was one rifle for three soldiers, then for four, and finally one rifle only was given for every ten soldiers. The soldiers in the rear had to wait until their comrades on the firing-line were killed so that they might have their rifles and take their places."

As a result of the inefficiency and treachery of the old régime, Russia's casualties in this war amounted to about 8,000,000. If the Russian Army had been properly managed since the beginning of the war, the war might possibly have been over long ago, with Russia and her Allies victorious, with Russian casualties probably not more than one-third of what they actually have been.

The greatest factor in the demoralization and disintegration of the Russian Army was the old régime with its centuries of oppressing and humiliating the soul of the peasant soldier, with its unspeakable crime in throwing against the Teutonic war-machinery millions of Russia's youth, unarmed and insufficiently trained for the great art of modern warfare. If, nevertheless, the Russian Army has, even in this war, accomplished miracles, it is because of the innate traits of the Russian character. The Tzar's Government brought Russia to the tragic defeat of 1915, while the character of the Russian soldier, his wonderful capacity for self-sacrifice made possible for the Russian

Army such a glorious achievement as the offensive in Galicia, in the summer of 1916, when the Russian soldiers, led by General Brusilov, attacked the enemy continuously for three months and captured 500,000 Austrian prisoners and 498 guns.

Nevertheless, on the eve of the Revolution the spirit of the Russian Army was already undermined by the criminal policy of the old régime. The number of deserters, by that time, amounted to hundreds of thousands. The Revolution, in its natural endeavor to accord the dignity of citizenship to every one fighting for Russia's and the world's freedom, went to the other extreme, which led to the final disorganization in the Army. On May 27, A. F. Kerensky, as Minister of War, signed the Declaration of Soldiers' Rights, which together with the famous Order No. 1* may be considered as the most fatal acts of the Revolution. These decrees were probably psychologically inevitable, but their fatal role in the destruction of the Russian Army cannot be underestimated.

The Declaration of Soldiers' Rights, in its first three paragraphs, declares that the soldiers and officers shall enjoy all the rights of free citizens; they may belong to any political party; they may speak, write or publish anything whatsoever on any political, religious, social or other subject, within the scope of the ordinary laws.

The fourth paragraph granted full religious freedom; the next two safeguarded the freedom of soldiers' correspondence and the right to receive any printed matter. Furthermore, the soldiers were given the right to discard the uniform except when in actual service; the compulsory salute to superiors was abolished. The soldiers were given the right to leave the barracks or ships, outside of duty hours, on the mere announcement of such intention to their superiors. All matters pertaining to the internal economic conditions of the regiment or ship were placed in the hands of elective committees consisting one-fifth part of the representatives of the officers and the rest of the representatives of the soldiers.

*Order No. 1 was issued by the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. It called upon the soldiers not to execute the orders of their officers unless those orders were approved by the revolutionary authorities.

It is true that the Declaration repeated the word discipline almost in every paragraph. It said, for instance, that although the soldiers shall enjoy all the rights of free citizens, they must regulate their conduct "by the requirements of service and discipline." In paragraph fourteen, where the Declaration stated that from now on no one in the Army might be subjected to punishment without trial, it stated also that during an actual military operation the superior has the right, on his own responsibility, to take all measures, even to the use of armed force against those who do not obey his orders. Nevertheless, the Declaration, under the conditions under which it was issued, could not create any impression on the peasant soldier's mind other than that it did create. The authority of the officer was broken down, and after generations of oppression and severe discipline the Army swung to the opposite extreme. "The freest Army in the world," as the representatives of the Revolutionary Democracy called the Russian Army during those days, soon became the most demoralized Army in the world, and after a few months of various experiments ceased to exist as an Army.

We have said before that all this process was probably inevitable under the circumstances created by the Revolution. The March Revolution in itself was such a miracle that everyone in Russia began to believe that other miracles would follow. In addition, it must be considered that a revolutionary government which is not extremely liberal in its policy is immediately suspected of tyranny by the people inexperienced in freedom. This explains why Prof. Miliukov demanded from Great Britain that Leon Trotsky, who had been detained by the British authorities in Halifax, should be allowed to return to Russia. This explains why not only Kerensky's but even Guchkov's measures, although destructive to the Army, were nevertheless politically inevitable. From point of view of strict discipline, the first blow to the Army was the first Convention of the Delegates from the Front, which A. I. Guchkov, under the circumstances, had to address as Minister of War. An Army brought into the whirlwind of political discussion, an Army where even strategic

problems are discussed and decided at soldiers' meetings is no longer an Army.

No one, individually, may be blamed for the disorganization of the Russian Army,—everybody contributed to this unfortunate, although, under the circumstances, inevitable process. The short-sightedness of the Revolutionary Democracy, in that respect, was probably best displayed in the following pronouncement of the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, issued on May 28 and referring to the just then published Declaration of Soldiers' Rights:

"Comrades, Soldiers: Two months we have been waiting for the day when the rights which we gained through the Revolution would receive the force of law, obligatory on all serving in the Army.

Having joined the ranks of revolutionary fighters, we have freed ourselves from the oppression of Tzarism.

The Revolution made all equal; the soldier is now a citizen by law.

Except when on duty, the difference between soldiers and officers has been abolished.

Paragraph 12 of the Declaration of Soldiers' Rights abolishes the old system of saluting.

From now on the soldier-citizen is free from the slavery of saluting and as an equal, free person will greet whomsoever he chooses.

Long live the free-thinking soldier-citizen!

Long live the united, strong, free Army of the people!

Discipline in the Revolutionary Army will exist, prompted by popular enthusiasm and the sense of duty toward the free country rather than by a slavish salute.

We soldiers shall be able to prove that the free Army of citizen-soldiers is much stronger than the Army of the old régime."

THE grave crisis in the Army was accompanied by a crisis in the interior of Russia, bringing to the fore two factors which, a few months later, brought Russia to her temporary ruin. These factors were the Bolsheviki and the Ukrainian problem.

Both of these problems made their appearance in the early days of the Revolution. While the only way for Russia's salvation lay in the union of all the progressive forces with the Provisional Government in its endeavors to bring the country to the Constituent Assembly, which alone could solve the constitutional and social problems confronting the new

Democracy, the Bolsheviki incited the masses with their demagogy and made steady endeavors to overthrow the Provisional Government. At the same time certain elements of the Ukrainian "intelligentsia," probably not without the influence of Austria, made steady attempts to solve, before the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, the problem of the relation of the Ukraine to the Russian State. On June 16 the Provisional Government found it necessary to address to the Ukrainian people the following appeal, signed by Prince G. E. Lvov:

"To the Ukrainian People: In these days of momentous experiences the Russian Provisional Government calls upon you in behalf of Free Russia. These are grave experiences that Russia is passing through in order to strengthen the freedom that will give prosperity to the people and will restore to all nationalities their rights.

If Russia is devastated by the internal enemy, if the foes of liberty triumph, lost will be the common cause of all the peoples inhabiting Russia.

To lead the country through all dangers, to bring together the Constituent Assembly of all the peoples, where they shall manifest their will firmly and openly by universal and equal suffrage—this is the problem before the Government, the provisional guardian of the revolutionary authority.

This is also your problem, citizens of the Ukraine. Are you not a part of Free Russia? Is not the fate of the Ukraine tied up indissolubly with the destiny of the whole of liberated Russia?

Who can doubt but that Russia, standing under the banner of complete self-government of the people, will secure the rights of all the nationalities within her borders! Through their representatives to the Constituent Assembly the peoples will be able to devise for themselves those forms of government and economic organization which are in complete accord with their national aspirations.

The Provisional Government has already commenced the realization of the rights to cultural self-determination of all the peoples of Russia, and imbued with sympathy and with a feeling of duty towards the Ukrainian people, it is endeavoring to obliterate all signs of the abuse to which the people have been subjected.

The Provisional Government has considered and holds it as its duty to come to an understanding with the social-democratic organizations of the Ukraine regarding those transitory measures which in the run of affairs could and should be adopted, to secure the rights of the Ukrainian people in the management of local affairs and autonomy in the schools and courts—measures that will provide for transition

to the state of liberty which the Ukraine must receive from the Constituent Assembly.

However, a complete reconstruction of the governmental organism of Russia and the establishment of a general Russian Army is impossible under the pressure of the internal enemies and under the gravest danger to the cause of liberty from without.

Brothers! Ukrainians! Do not start out on the road which leads to a split in the forces of liberated Russia! Do not alienate yourselves from the common country; do not dismember the general Army; do not introduce fratricidal strife into the people's ranks just at a moment when the efforts of all the united forces are needed for the protection of the country against military destruction and for the overcoming of the interior obstacles. In your anxiety to immediately fix securely the forms of governmental organization for the Ukraine, do not strike a deadly blow at the entire Government and at yourselves as well, for the ruin of Russia also spells the ruin of your cause.

Let all the peoples of Russia close their ranks tighter in the struggle against the dangers which threaten the country from without and from within. And let them submit the fundamental problems for a final solution to the not far-off Constituent Assembly, where they themselves will decree the destinies of Russia as well as of her individual provinces."

The growth of the Ukrainian movement necessitated sending to the Ukraine two members of the Cabinet, the Minister of Post and Telegraph, Tseretelli, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Terestchenko, whose concessions to the Ukraine, in behalf of the Provisional Government, created opposition in the Cabinet and resulted in the resignation of the five members of the Cabinet belonging to the Constitutional-Democratic Party. These resignations occurred on July 15. On July 20 Prince G. E. Lvov resigned and A. F. Kerensky was appointed Prime Minister. Before the resignation of Prince Lvov, on July 16, the Provisional Government adopted the following resolution regarding the Ukrainian problem:

"After having listened to the information given by Ministers Kerensky, Terestchenko and Tseretelli on the Ukrainian question, the Provisional Government has come to the following decision:

To appoint a supreme body for the management of affairs in the Ukraine, a separate organ—a General Secretariate—the formation of which will be determined by the Government with the approval of the Central Ukrainian Rada, supplemented, in all justice, by representatives of the other nationalities inhabiting the Ukraine,

through their democratic organizations. All measures concerning the affairs of the Ukraine will be realized through the above organ.

Considering that the question regarding the national-political construction of the Ukraine and the method of solving the agrarian problem there, within the limits of the general laws, should be disposed of by the Constituent Assembly, the Provisional Government will be deeply interested in the working out of the project of the national-political statutes of the Ukraine. This project is to be worked out by the Central Rada of the Ukraine, supplemented as aforesaid in a sense which the Rada itself will find to be in conformity with the interests of the Province, for submission to the Constituent Assembly, where the forms for the solution of the land question shall also be submitted.

The Provisional Government deems it necessary to preserve the fighting capacity of the united Army; it considers inadmissible any measures likely to break up the unity of the Army's organization and command, as, for instance, the changing at this time of the plan of mobilization by swinging over to a system of territorial formation of the military detachments, or of vesting commanding authority in any social organization. In addition, the Government thinks it possible to continue to assist in the matter of bringing the Ukrainians to a firmer national unification in the very ranks of the Army, or to the formation of distinctive detachments of Ukrainians exclusively, in so far as such a measure will, in the estimation of the Minister of War, be considered technically possible and will not affect the fighting efficiency of the Army. At present, aiming at a more systematic and more successful achievement of this object, the Provisional Government thinks it possible to invite the Ukrainian soldiers themselves to aid in the realization of the object. To this end there may, with the approval of the Central Rada, be delegated special Ukrainian representatives who will be attached to the offices of the Minister of War and of the Chief Commander at General Headquarters. As for the local military committees of the Ukrainians, they accomplish their functions on general principles; however, their activity must be in accordance with the activity of the other military social organizations."

THE Bolshevist problem, as a problem threatening the very existence of the Russian Democracy, made its appearance on July 17, 1917, when the Petrograd Bolsheviki made their first attempt to seize governmental power. The undemocratic, tyrannical character of the Bolshevist movement was best illustrated in those days when they made an attempt to become the Government of Russia in spite of

the fact that against them were arrayed not only the middle class, but also the entire Russian Revolutionary Democracy. On June 22 the All-Russian Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates issued the following appeal with regard to the Bolshevist agitation:

"Comrades, Soldiers and Workmen! The Bolsheviki Party is calling upon you to go out into the street.

This appeal is made without the knowledge of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, the All-Russian Congress, or all of the Socialist Parties. It is sounded just at that moment of supreme danger when the All-Russian Congress has called upon our comrades, the workers of the District of Vyborg, to remember that demonstrations in these days may hurt the cause of the Revolution.

Comrades, in the name of millions of workers, peasants, and soldiers, in the rear and at the front, we tell you: 'Do not do that which you are called upon to do.'

At this dangerous moment you are called out into the streets to demand the overthrow of the Provisional Government, to whom the All-Russian Congress has just found it necessary to give its support.

And those who are calling you cannot but know that out of your peaceful demonstration chaos and bloodshed may result.

Knowing your devotion to the cause of the Revolution, we tell you: 'You are being called to a demonstration in favor of the Revolution, but we know that counter-revolutionists want to take advantage of your demonstration. We know that the counter-revolutionists are eagerly awaiting the moment when strife will develop in the ranks of the Revolutionary Democracy and will enable them to crush the Revolution.

Comrades! In the name of all the Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, in the name of the Council of Peasants' Delegates, in the name of the acting Army and the Socialist Parties, we tell you: 'Not a single division, not a regiment, not a group of workers must go out into the street to-morrow. Not a single demonstration should be held to-day.'

There is a hard struggle ahead of us.

When Russia's liberty will really be threatened by counter-revolutionary dangers, we shall call you. The outbreaks of those bent upon disorganizing our forces, spell ruin to the Revolution.

Conserve your forces.

Preserve the basis of friendship and solidarity with the rest of Russia."

In spite of all the endeavors of the responsible revolutionary leaders, the Bolsheviki started their revolt on July 17, and in two days about five hundred men, women and children were

killed in the streets of Petrograd. The United Executive Committee of the All-Russian Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates immediately issued, at the very outset of the revolt, the following appeal:

"Comrades, Workers and Soldiers! Yesterday several members of the Cabinet, belonging to the Constitutional-Democratic Party, resigned from the staff of the Provisional Government. In view of the crisis which this has created, a joint session of the Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates and the Executive Committee of the Peasants' Delegates, as the authorized organs of the Revolutionary Democracy of entire Russia, was called to consider a way out of the difficult situation.

But the work of this session was interrupted. In spite of the repeated warnings of the Council of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates, several detachments of soldiers marched out armed and tried to capture the town, seizing automobiles, arbitrarily arresting private individuals, and acting with threats and violence.

On coming to the Tavrichesky Palace they demanded, with arms in their hands, that the Executive Committees take over all power. While offering this power to the Councils they were the first to encroach upon this power. The All-Russian Executive organs—the Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates—reject with indignation every attempt to bring pressure on its will.

It is wrong to attempt by armed demonstration to impose the will of several detachments of the garrison of one city upon the whole Russian people. Upon the shoulders of all who dared to call out armed people with this aim lies the blood which was shed on the streets of Petrograd.

Towards our Revolutionary Army, which, on the front, is defending the conquests of the Revolution, these deeds are nothing short of treason. Anyone in the rear who encroaches upon the will of the authorized organs of the Democracy and thus incites in its ranks civil strife stabs in the back the revolutionary Army fighting against the troops of Wilhelm.

The All-Russian Executive Committee of the Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates protests against these ominous symptoms of disintegration which seek to undermine every popular authority, not excluding the authority of the future Constituent Assembly.

The All-Russian Executive Committees of the Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates demand once and for all the cessation of similar demonstrations disgracing revolutionary Petrograd.

All those who stand for the defense of the Revolution and its

conquests are called upon by the Executive Committees of the All-Russian Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates to await the decision of the authorized organs of the Democracy. To this decision, in which the voices of all Revolutionary Russia will be reflected, must submit all those to whom the cause of freedom is dear."

The Bolshevist uprising ended on July 19. Several Cossack detachments, true to the Provisional Government, were able to disperse the Bolshevist mobs. On July 21 the United Executive Committee of the All-Russian Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates issued a new appeal:

"The acute danger to which the Revolution was subjected by the anarchistic demonstrations of individual groups of soldiers and workmen during the 16th and 17th of July is over. At the present time life is beginning to follow its normal course. The mad attempt has evoked among the masses a strong reaction and the danger lies now in those passions, in panic and in the animosity which threaten to assume the form of an outburst of a counter-revolutionary nature.

At the present time it is absolutely necessary that all the Peasants' Councils, the Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, as well as the committees of the troops' divisions on the front and the garrisons present a united front in the struggle against the various attempts to make use of the Petrograd events in order to sow discontent among the masses.

Calling the entire Revolutionary Democracy to unite closely behind the fully authorized organs, we beg you to report all the arbitrary, wilful demonstrations, any counter-revolutionary outbursts and attempts at pogroms, to inform whenever possible and in detail about the situation. Always be ready at the necessary moment to support the Central Committee of the All-Russian Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates with all the weight of the moral authority of closely united and organized institutions of the revolutionary Army. Our principle is—close adherence of the Revolutionary Democracy to its political centers, the Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates."

In complete accord with the attitude of the Russian Democracy, A. F. Kerensky, as Minister of War and Navy, on July 20 addressed the following appeal to the Army and Navy:

"From the beginning of the Revolution, both in Kronstadt and on several vessels of the Baltic Fleet, under the influence of German agents and provocators, there appeared some people calling for action threatening the Revolution and the safety of the Fatherland. At the time when our valiant Army, heroically sacrificing itself, entered upon a bloody fight with the enemy; at the time when, true to Democracy, our fleet was unremittingly carrying

out the hard military task that rested upon it, Kronstadt and several vessels, led by the 'Republica' and 'Petropavlosck,' in their action were dealing blows to their own comrades by passing resolutions against attack, inciting to disobedience to the revolutionary authorities in the form of the Provisional Government, and endeavoring to bring pressure upon the will of the elected bodies of the Democracy, represented by the All-Russian Congress of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates.

During the very advance of our Army disorder began in Petrograd, which threatened the Revolution and which has subjected our Army to the blows of the enemy. When, on the demand of the Provisional Government, acting in accord with the Executive Committee of the Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates, the ships of the fleet were called out in order to influence quickly and decisively those men from Kronstadt participating in these treacherous derangements, the enemies of the people and the Revolution, acting through the Central Committee of the Baltic Fleet, through false interpretations of these measures stirred up mutiny among the ships' crews. These traitors have prevented the despatching to Petrograd of ships true to the Revolution and the taking of measures for the speediest stoppage of the disorders organized by the enemy. They have, moreover, incited the crews to unauthorized acts—to the removal of the General Commissary Onipko, the order for the arrest of the Assistant Minister of the Navy, Captain of the First Rank, Duderov, and to the presentation of a series of demands to the Executive Committee of the Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates.

The seditious and treacherous activities of a number of people have forced the Provisional Government to issue an order for the immediate arrest of their leaders. Included in this order is the arrest of the delegation, recently arrived in Petrograd, from the Baltic Fleet, upon which the Provisional Government decided in order to start a thorough investigation.

In view of the above stated, I order:

1. The Central Committee of the Baltic Fleet to be immediately disbanded, a new one to be elected in its place.

2. To declare to all crews and vessels of the Baltic Fleet that I call upon them to immediately remove from their midst suspicious persons who are inciting to disobedience to the Provisional Government, and agitating against an advance, and to bring them for investigation and trial to Petrograd.

3. To the crews of Kronstadt and the ships of the line, 'Petropavlosck,' 'Republica,' and 'Slava,' whose honor is stained by counter-revolutionary acts and resolutions: I order the arrest within 24 hours of all the ring-leaders and that they be sent for investigation

and trial to Petrograd, and be ordered to give assurance of full obedience to the Provisional Government. I declare to the crews of Kronstadt and the above-mentioned ships that in case of failure to comply with my present order they will be declared traitors to the country and the Revolution and that the most resolute measures will be taken against them.

Comrades: The Fatherland is on the brink of ruin on account of sedition and treachery. Death is threatening its freedom and the conquests of the Revolution. The German armies have already begun the advance on our front. Every hour we may expect aggressive action from the enemy's fleet, which may take advantage of the temporary disorganization. Decisive measures are necessary in order to nip it in the bud. The Army has adopted such measures. The Fleet must coöperate with the Army. In the name of the Fatherland, the Revolution and freedom, in the name of the welfare of the toiling masses, I call upon you to rally around the Provisional Government and the All-Russian organs of Democracy, and with your breasts to repulse the heavy blows of the foreign foe, protecting the rear from the seditious blows of traitors."

On July 25 the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates adopted, by the overwhelming majority of 300 to 11, a resolution demanding that the Bolsheviki immediately explain the accusation brought against them of being in contact with Germany, and that the Bolsheviki leaders, Lenine and Zinoviev, who had escaped arrest and were in hiding, appear for public trial. The resolution contained the following recommendations:

"First—The whole Revolutionary Democracy desires that the group of Bolsheviki accused of having organized disorders or incited revolt or of having received money from German sources be tried publicly. In consequence, the Executive Committee considers it absolutely inadmissible that Lenine and Zinoviev should escape justice, and demands that the Bolsheviki Faction immediately and categorically express its censure of the conduct of its leaders.

Second—In view of the exceptional situation, the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates demands from all members and from all factions, as well as from all members of local Councils, the putting into absolute practice of all decisions adopted by the majority of the central organizations."

As we have said above, the great crisis of July, 1917 resulted in the resignation of Prince Lvov and in the appointment of

A. F. Kerensky to his place. The new Cabinet, on July 22, issued the following declaration:

"Citizens: The evil hour has struck. The troops of the German Emperor have broken through the front of the Russian people's revolutionary Army. This horrible task has been made easier for them by the criminal light-mindedness and blind fanaticism of some, by the disloyalty and betrayal of others. The former as well as the latter have been threatening the very foundations of newly freed Russia with ruin and disintegration. At this threatening moment, when the counter-revolutionary forces that have been in hiding take advantage of the general turmoil to come out, the reorganized Provisional Government fully realizes the responsibility, the whole burden of which falls upon its shoulders. But the Government has firm faith in the might of the great Russian people; the Provisional Government believes in the rapid recovery of the political life of the country after the contagious disease undermining the people's organism has come to the surface and ended in an acute crisis; the Provisional Government believes that this crisis will lead to recovery and not to death.

Strong in its faith, the Provisional Government is ready to act and will act with all the energy and determination that the extraordinary times require. The Provisional Government regards as its first and basic task the concentration of all the forces for the struggle with the external enemy and for guarding the new governmental order from the various anarchistic and counter-revolutionary attempts, not stopping before the most resolute measures. In its foreign policies the Provisional Government will also again and again prove that the revolutionary Army can fight, firmly convinced that not a single drop of blood of a Russian soldier will be shed for purposes foreign to the Russian Democracy that has openly declared its peace formulas before the whole world.

For this purpose the Provisional Government, in view of the principles of foreign policy announced in the Government's declaration of the 19th of May, intends to invite the Allies to assemble at an Allied conference during the month of August, in order to determine the general tendency of the Allies' foreign policy and to harmonize their action with the principles announced by the Russian Revolution.

Continuing the work of governmental organization in other spheres also, on the basis laid down in the declaration of May 19th, the Provisional Government thinks it necessary to carry through measures that will help realize the principles referred to above.

The Provisional Government will adopt all measures necessary to insure that the elections to the Constituent Assembly take place at the appointed time, September 30th, and that all the preliminary arrangements are completed in advance, in order to secure regular and honest elections.

The speediest inauguration of cities' and Zemstvos' autonomy on the basis of general, direct, equal and secret franchise and its general promulgation is the paramount task of the Government, in the sphere of interior policies. Attaching special importance to the creation of organs of local self-government that will have the confidence of the whole population, the Provisional Government will now call upon the representatives of public organizations to form collegiate bodies of provincial administration uniting a series of governments.

Striving to carry out consistently the principles of civic equality, the Provisional Government will issue a decree ordering the abolition of all castes and the elimination of all civil titles, as well as all legions of honor, with the exception of those given for military distinction.

For a decisive struggle against economic ruin and for the further promotion of measures for the protection of labor, the Economic Council formed by the Provisional Government and the Main Economic Committee will be immediately set to work; their task is to formulate a general plan of organization of the nation's economic life and labor, the working out of bills and general measures for the regulation of the economic life, for the control of industry, and also for the practical execution of these plans.

In the sphere of labor policies, bills concerning the freedom of coalition, labor markets and reconciliation chambers have been drafted and in the next few days will be passed. Bills regarding an eight-hour day, the safeguarding of labor and the inauguration of all kinds of socialistic insurance in all the branches of hired labor are being prepared.

The measures that the Provisional Government will adopt in regard to the agrarian question are, as formerly, determined by their conviction that in accordance with the basic needs of our national economy, with the repeatedly expressed desires of the peasantry and with the programs announced by all the democratic parties, the agrarian reform must be based on the idea of transferring the land into the hands of the toilers. On this very basis is the project for agrarian reform being prepared for the consideration of the Constituent Assembly.

Having announced its plans and the tasks before it, the Provisional Government presumes that it has the right, in its difficult and responsible work, to count upon the unlimited and enthusiastic support of all the living forces of the country. It demands from all the people their constant readiness to sacrifice all their property, their very life for the salvation of the country that is no longer a stepmother for the peoples that inhabit her, that is striving to unite them on the principles of freedom and equality."

THE THEATRICAL SQUARE IN MOSCOW
Showing the Grand Theater, where the National Conference was held.

CHAPTER XIV

The National Conference in Moscow

IN spite of the measures taken by the Provisional Government, the disintegration in the Army continued. The internal crisis continued also, and on August 3 there was a new ministerial crisis created by the resignation of V. M. Chernov, the Minister of Agriculture. The composition of the new Cabinet was announced on August 7. V. M. Chernov returned to his post in the Ministry of Agriculture. The Constitutional-Democratic Party, whose members had resigned from the Cabinet in connection with the Ukranian crisis, returned to the Cabinet by appointing M. Oldenburg to the post of Minister of Education, A. V. Kartashev to the post of Procurator of the Holy Synod, and F. Golovine—Controller of State.

However, the crisis was not abated. The extreme gravity of the situation impelled the Provisional Government to convoke an extraordinary National Conference, which met in Moscow on August 26, 1917. The composition of the Conference was as follows: 188 members of the four Dumas, 100 representatives of the Peasants, 229 representatives of the

Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, 147 delegates from the Municipalities, 113 representatives of the Union of Zemstvos and Towns, 150 representatives from industrial organizations and banks, 313 representatives of coöperative organizations, and 176 representatives of trade unions.

The Conference could not accomplish anything concrete since its members, in the main, were not elected but invited by the Provisional Government and since its resolutions could have no binding power, either on the various Russian organizations and groups or on the Provisional Government. The only purpose of this Conference was to give the possibility for expression, during this grave crisis, to the various voices in Russia's political life and, if possible, to bring the various interests to a compromise which later might be embodied in a concrete political program. The first part of this purpose was achieved, and the speeches of Kerensky, Tscheidze, Tseretelli, Miliukov, Bublikov, General Kornilov, General Kaledine, Plekhanov, Breshko-Breshkovskaya, Peter Kropotkin and other leaders express so thoroughly the thoughts and feelings of Russia at this critical moment that the National Conference in Moscow will forever remain an important source of knowledge for anyone interested in the Russian Revolution. The events which occurred after the Conference show, however, that the second task of the Conference, the achievement of national unity of all Russia's progressive forces, was not realized and the disintegration of Russia not stopped.

At the first session of the Conference the following message was received from President Wilson and read amid enthusiastic applause:

"President of the National Council Assembly, Moscow:

I take the liberty to send to the members of the great council now meeting in Moscow the cordial greetings of their friends, the people of the United States, to express their confidence in the ultimate triumph of ideals of democracy and self-government against all enemies within and without, and to give their renewed assurance of every material and moral assistance they can extend to the Government of Russia in

the promotion of the common cause in which the two nations are unselfishly united."

The Conference was opened in the Moscow Grand Theatre by Premier A. F. Kerensky, who addressed those present in behalf of the Provisional Government.

Kerensky's Speech

"In the name of the Provisional Government, I greet the citizens of Russia assembled here; in particular do I greet our brother-warriors who are now, with great manliness and unbounded heroism, defending the borders of the Russian State under the leadership of their commanders. (Applause.)

In this great and terrible hour, when in suffering and severe trial is being born and created a new, free and great Russia, the Provisional Government has called you to assemble here, citizens of the great country which has just now forever thrown off the chains of slavery, violence, and despotism, not merely for the purpose of indulging in controversies. (Boisterous applause.)

It has not called you together here to discuss questions of program, or, still less, to allow any attempts, from whatever sources they may come, to take advantage of the present Conference or the exceptionally difficult position of the Russian State, or to encourage any attempts at undermining the power of the Provisional Government, which, by the will of the Revolution and the people, possesses authority until the convocation of the Constituent Assembly,—the Provisional Government having been authorized to defend the country and to safeguard the achievements of the Revolution, has summoned you, sons of free Russia, in order to tell you frankly and openly the real truth about that which awaits you and which our great but exhausted country is living through at present.

The Provisional Government, which may change its personnel, but whose basic problems remain unaltered, and which, from the moment of the overthrow of the old despotic order and until the Constituent Assembly is convened, regards itself as the only depository of the sovereign rights of the Russian people, has great faith in the mind and conscience of the people. (Applause.)

Let every one who makes any attempt to raise an armed hand against the people's power beware, for such an attempt will be stopped with blood and iron. (Boisterous applause.)

This warning is intended especially for those conspirators who think that the time has come when they can overthrow the revolutionary authority by force of arms. (Shouts: "Bravo!" Boisterous applause.) Our authority is based not on the compulsion, not on the violence and irresponsibility which were the bulwarks of the old regime. Our power is founded on the great confidence of the broad

masses of the people (Shouts: "Bravo!" Applause.) and of those millions of our brothers who have taken up arms in defense of the country and the Revolution. The Provisional Government, which has from the very beginning and until now taken the only possible course, from our point of view, the course of the broadest possible unification of all forces sincerely faithful to the Revolution to the extent of submitting their own or class interests to the great and sacred duty of preserving the heritage of our ancestors and the honor and dignity of the free Russian Democracy, (Applause.) the Provisional Government is firmly convinced that assembled here, in the heart of our State, every one of us will forget everything except conscientious duty towards our native land and towards the great conquests of the Revolution—liberty, equality and fraternity. (Applause.)

The situation, citizens, is very difficult, for our country is passing through an hour of extreme danger. Let, therefore, those in whom a heart still beats and in whose soul the old régime has not burned out completely the feeling of loyalty and love to our common cause, —let all those understand this declaration of ours, the most important declaration which the Provisional Government has considered it its duty to make. We are told that perhaps we deliberately paint the situation dark and exaggerate the danger in order to frighten some of the people—to intimidate some and thus strengthen the authority of our own power. But you know, citizens, that until now we have not convoked such an assembly; the Provisional Government as a whole, and its members individually, I among them, have repeatedly given warning of the terrible hour which may come.

Starving cities, the more and more disorganized transportation system,—this artery that carries food to the Army and Navy and all the citizens of the Russian State,—the falling off in the output of industrial labor, the open refusal to support the country by great sacrifices of wealth and property on the part of the property-owning classes, (Applause.)—all this has brought us to the state where the decrease in the joint output, due to the theft and waste of the national wealth, the weapons of defense and production, is accompanied by exhaustion of the Government treasury and a great financial and currency crisis. The same situation and, in fact, worse, may be observed in the political tendencies where the process of disorganization and the falling apart into new parties and groups, unfriendly to each other, works great havoc which is strengthened by the separatist aspirations on the part of several nationalities of Russia seeking salvation, not in a closer unity with the vital forces of the Russian State, but in the desire to more clearly and definitely mark off their fate from ours, although we equally, unselfishly and disinterestedly fight for the freedom and self-determination of all nationalities. (Applause.)

And finally, on top of all this, we have the great trials and the unbearable disgrace at the front, where parts of the Russian Army, under the pressure and attack of the enemy forces, gave way and went backwards out of faint-heartedness and contemptible cowardice, forgetting their duty towards the country and the newly-born freedom. (Applause.)

I, myself, shared the great desire and enthusiastic aspiration of the Russian Army to launch the forward drive; this showed that our people and our country still retained some of their former vigor. The great attempt failed and our hopes were crushed. All the best forces of the nation and the Army, the triumph of Democracy, the possibility of peace and the cause of the Russian Revolution were bound up with our triumph at the front. But our hopes were crushed. And this evil was brought into the Army from the outside; it was the result of that great disorganization, that great curse which took possession of the Russian people, making them forget their duty, (Applause.) and forge with their own hands new chains of despotism and oppression. (Applause.)

If we are now confronted with a reign of lawlessness, lack of respect for man and his rights, mockery at the new law, then we, at the head of the Government, who are wise not by years perhaps, but by experience, recognize with what heritage we have to deal, and with great patience, with great love, we proceed to restore, and if need be, force the recognition of the common law and the great principles of universal human justice, and finally cope with this very heritage which manifested itself in that drama which took place on the battlefield. Everybody to whom the secrets of the Army of the Russian autocracy were open knows that this Army had feet of clay and almost no head. This Army never answered the demands of modern warfare; it had a commanding staff among whom there were scarcely any who had sufficient military training and its soldiers had no civic training. This Army was kept together not by the great enthusiasm of a common aim or a common love, but, unfortunately, by the hated chains of compulsion and the unreasoning submission of man to iron, and often by the unreasonable will of those in control. And, speaking of the Army, which I dare say I know sufficiently well, I must here before the whole Russian assembly give expression to the deep admiration and great love which the Provisional Government, and I believe the whole country, has for the brain of the Russian Army, for the rank and file officers in active service, not careerists, uncomplaining in difficult circumstances, and at times of great trial prepared to give their lives for the Fatherland. (Boisterous applause.)

And here, citizens, under those conditions of cowardice, disintegration, economic ruin, and the constantly increasing centrifugal

forces, the Russian people, headed by the Provisional Government, have to defend the Fatherland by saving the Revolution, or save the Revolution by defending the Fatherland. For us and for me there is no Fatherland wthout freedom and no freedom without a Fatherland. (Boisterous applause and shouts: "Bravo!")

We expect from you, representatives of the Russian land, not civil strife nor personal controversies, nor malicious criticism, but we expect you to carefully consider the country's needs. Do you feel within you this great enthusiasm for self-denial in the interests of the common cause? Do you feel within you the power and will to sacrifice and labor? Do you realize that it is not talk but the greatest possible effort to serve the country that is required? Will you, sons of the great Fatherland assembled here in Moscow, demonstrate to the whole world and to our enemies your great unified power, or will you present to the world a new picture of decadence and earn the deserved contempt of our enemies! (Applause.)

Citizens, the Army, of course, is our great hope, being the only force which, in unity with the people and with the Provisional Government, may decide the issue.

We saw how the peace movement conducted by people inexperienced in government affairs though inspired by a real, almost mad love for the Fatherland failed to bring nearer the desired peace; on the contrary, it retarded its coming, because, to the sins of autocracy, it added its share in spreading lawlessness in the Army, forgetting the common aim for special, often personal considerations.

We have the support of the armed forces of the Democracy and of the revolutionary people. We came into the world of democratic nations with our heads raised high, and we remained there as equals in the great struggle, at the death feast of the peoples of Europe.

But we also came there with our word and our will. And beware that the blows at the Army, the blows at the will and sovereign authority of the Russian people do not undermine the very ideas for which we are fighting and open the gates, which you think we defend so poorly, to those who hate freedom. We are determined that Russia shall be ranked among the World Powers. (Boisterous applause.)

A short time ago we indignantly replied to a proposal to conclude a separate peace. A few days ago we witnessed another attempt, equally base, directed against our Allies. The latter rejected it with equal indignation, and in the name of the great Russian people I say to our Allies that it was the only reply we expected of them.

Misfortunes unite. Of all who have endured great trials I cannot but mention the Roumanian people, and I must add that if as a result of common misfortune and common mistakes they will temporarily have to leave their Fatherland, they will find within the boundaries of

our State refuge and welcome. The symptoms, the weakening of our front, and also the indications of the decline of our supreme authority in the international and in the domestic life of our free, revolutionary, democratic Russia—these menacing symptoms the Provisional Government sees reflected not only in the not altogether impartial step of the Pope, but also in the aspirations of the various nationalities of Russia who seemed indissolubly bound with the free Russian Democracy by a common struggle for freedom.

I am sorry to say that perhaps in the near future we will have to face a great trial in Finland, which enjoys full autonomy, in spite of the fact that our will expressed in a special act granted and restored complete home rule to the Grand Duchy of Finland. In a few days efforts will probably be made there to take advantage of our difficulties in order to settle by physical force problems and aims at the present time unattainable, and disastrous for the country as a whole.

I, as the head of the Provisonal Government, as Minister of War, order: 'Do not let that come to pass.' (Boisterous applause. Shouts: "Bravo!") And we hope that the whole nation will support our decision. (Applause.) We have not overstepped the constitutional limits even once. We remain the guardian of Russian as well as of Finnish freedom, and in the nearest future the Finnish people will become convinced that if they refrain from violence, the Russian authorities will not forget them but grant still more freedom. I do not want to touch on the other intimate and fraternal conflict. I believe that the many millions of toiling peasants and city laborers, our brothers by blood and by common fate, in spite of the many offenses, due perhaps to misunderstanding and mutual disagreements, will never betray us.

Our Army is a power which we must keep pure and clean and beautiful in itself — this Army has become somewhat afflicted with the corroding ulcer of the same disease we have inherited from the past, the same lack of understanding, conscious manhood and readiness for sacrifice which has taken possession of the whole Russian people.

But before we throw a stone at those who have not stood the test there, let us look, citizens, into your own souls. Have you stood the test? Were you, gentlemen, at your post of duty, were you here merely speaking of sacrifices, or were you actually making them? (Boisterous applause.) And have you seen at the head of those who really sacrifice, who go voluntarily,—they did so recently,—not the poor, ignorant and hungry, but the educated, wealthy and wise? And do you know that those people spend days and nights in the trenches, in the mud, amidst poisonous gases, poorly fed and semi-clad, and are slowly dying,—do you realize that those men are there not de-

fending personal, group, or class interests, but are there because of their boundless love for the country! (Applause.) They hear that in the rear people are threatening one another and at the least weakening, at the slightest provocation, here or there is raised not a red banner but a banner stained with a brother's blood through mutiny and wilfulness. They hear of those efforts which are made every minute to overthrow the hated democratic revolutionary power. (Boisterous applause.) And to you who have come from the front, I, your Minister of War and Commander-in-Chief, say, 'I govern as a member of the Provisional Government, and express to you its will, and there is no will and authority in the Army above the will and authority of the Provisional Government. (Boisterous applause. Shouts of "Bravo!") You may rest assured we will protect you from the decomposing influence creeping into the Army and working the most terrible destruction possible in its ranks; for shame, this making it easy for the people who fear death to say that they do not want to fight for our principles. (Boisterous applause. Shouts: "Bravo!")

We will fight against it with might and main. This is the anarchy of the Left, this is the Bolshevism; whatever it may be called, it will find in us, in the Russian Democracy, imbued with the spirit of love for the State and for the ideals of freedom, its enemy. (Applause.) But I say once more: 'Any effort to utilize the weakening of discipline will be dealt with by me.' (Boisterous applause.)

While still Minister of Justice I introduced into the Provisional Government a bill for the abolition of the death penalty. (Applause; shouts: "Bravo!") And as Minister of War I introduced into the Provisional Government the partial restoration of the death penalty. (Shouts of "Right!" Applause.) How can one applaud when we speak of death? (Thundering applause.) Don't you know that at this moment and at this hour a part of our soul was killed? But if it shall be necessary for the saving of the State, we will kill our soul to save the State. (Thundering applause.) But let every one know that this measure is a great temptation and let no one dare to present any unconditional demands on that score. We shall prevent this. We only say that if the stupendous destruction, the disintegration, the cowardice, the treacherous murder, the attack on peaceful inhabitants, the burning of inhabited places, the robbery,—if these continue in spite of our warnings, the Provisional Government will find the power to combat them as far as necessary. And, citizens, nobody will be able to take away that which was won by the Russian people and the Russian Army.

Gentlemen, that which many attribute now to the Revolution was an uncontrollable force and not the play of the conscious will of the two forces of the Revolution. This can be seen from the fact that everything that rouses the indignation of the present rehabilitators

of the Army was established prior to me, in spite of me, and by their own hands. (Applause; voices: "Right!") It was a tempest; it was only a protest at the disintegration of the old, a change of old bonds for the new ones built casually and in haste. This haste was necessary, otherwise the whole enormous mass of material would have turned to dust after the fall of the despotic military rule. But we checked the tendency to disintegrate. This work, poorly done at first, must now be put in good shape. Everything will be put in its place. Everybody will know his rights and his duties. And not only those who obey the commands will know their duties, but also those who command. (Applause; shouts: "Bravo!") The commissaries and the committees and the disciplinary courts will be preserved. (Applause, mainly from the seats of the representatives of the Army.) But everything will assume the forms that are needed now in the Army and which must remain not a transitory phenomenon but an immutable part of the Army organism.

At the very outset, I began the systematically planned work of reconsidering, codifying and shaping all the institutions that are new in the Army, that must be made permanent by law. And above everything, I consider it necessary and important to say right now to the whole Army, from top to bottom and vice versa,—the whole Army, irrespective of rank or position, must present an example of discipline and of obedience of the lower ranks to the higher, and of all to the supreme authority. (Applause.) I, as Minister of War, dare to say to you: 'Citizens of Russia, the sickness of the Army organism was just as passing and accidental as was accidental and passing the sickness of the whole Russian State, and under the staggering blows of great trials is born the will to live, submission to discipline, and a sense of duty, and in this will, in this wisdom, in this conscience is the safeguard of the renaissance and salvation, both of Russia and the Russian Army. (Continued applause.)

From the very beginning of our Government, from the 12th of March, we do not consider it a fault that we were too patient, that we were too tolerant in that struggle which we had to wage; our task has been possible only because every time that the crest of the wave, dangerous for the Government, rose high, the will and the very consciousness of the honest citizens of the Russian State came to our assistance. (Voices: "Right!") And that is why we have summoned you here in order to hear your voice, full of enthusiasm and love for freedom and the Fatherland, which makes us, your representatives, still more powerful in the eyes of the enemies of our country and brings us closer to the large masses of the people. I can assure you that we are guided by nothing else but the welfare of the country and if, I repeat again, we shall be lacking intelligence and conscience, if we are overcome by the wave of destruction and the

disintegration resulting from selfish interests and party conflicts, then before we perish we will call the country to our aid. But now, we will ourselves, with the unlimited power at our command, deal with violence and lawlessness with an iron hand." (Applause.)

PREMIER KERENSKY'S speech was followed by speeches by the Minister of Interior, N. D. Avksentiev, the Minister of Trade and Industry, S. N. Prokopovich, and the Minister of Finance, N. V. Nekrasov. Nekrasov's speech, devoted to the financial situation, attracted much attention not only in Russia, but also abroad.

Nekrasov's Speech

"Citizens, representatives of the Russian Land! I cannot say that after having, at the persistent request of the Prime Minister, accepted the post of Minister of Finance, I was very much puzzled or startled by the picture which presented itself to me as I became more intimately acquainted with the state of affairs. As a member of the Provisional Government I was familiar with the reports of my two predecessors and knew sufficiently well what the financial situation was like. I realized perfectly well the extent of the impending financial disaster,—I shall say it openly,—the gravest of all, for the financial disruption mirrors and accentuates all those unfavorable conditions in the country's political and economic life which arose as a result of the war and the Revolution. You are already acquainted, from the report of the Minister of Trade and Industry, with those figures which shed light on the problems of the Ministry of Finance at the present moment. I shall take the liberty of calling them to your attention just once more, in order that the facts may stand out more clearly.

Allow me to cite one figure—15 billion rubles deficit for the year ending January 1st, 1918. It seems there is no need to dwell on details, or to point out any other instances. This figure speaks for itself. In comparison with it, all the other data that I shall have to present in connection with other phases of the question, will fade into insignificance.

How did we arrive at this point? Citizens, the opinion is now widely spread to the effect that the Revolution was the factor which had a very detrimental effect on our financial condition. There is some truth in that assertion. The impartial language of statistics tells us that even taking into consideration all the unfavorable conditions that had accumulated up to the moment of the Revolution, taking into consideration all the unfavorable circumstances which have infinitely multiplied our troubles, it still does not enable us to account

for that financial ruin which we are facing, unless we recognize the role of the Revolution and of those peculiar circumstances which the Revolution brought about. The leaders of the Revolution must, in this matter, face the truth squarely.

Not a single period in the history of Russia, not a single autocratic administration was as lavish, as extravagant as the Government of Revolutionary Russia. We must now not only find fault with and discover the blunders of the old régime, but we must also analyze impartially the activities of the revolutionary period. Should the Provisional Government disagree with me in this respect, neither I nor my colleague in charge of the Department will be able to assume the burden of responsibility for Russia's finances. If we speak in statistical terms, there is no table that can more eloquently and fully characterize the role of the revolutionary period than the table regarding the issue of paper money since the war began.

In 1914,—I am referring to the latter half of the year, those months that followed the outbreak of the war,—paper rubles were issued at an average of 219 million per month; for 1915 this average was increased to 223 million, during 1916 it rose to 290 million, during the first two months of 1917 the monthly average reached 423 million, and from March 1st to July 16th paper rubles were issued at the rate of 832 million per month.

A limit must be set. Those expenditures we have been making are beyond our means. Russia must state this straightforwardly and definitely. (Applause.) Accepting the post of Minister of Finance, I have, together with my colleague in charge of the Department, put squarely before the Provisional Government the immediate and energetic revision of our entire budget from top to bottom. (Applause.) I have raised the question of calling upon competent people outside of any party or group influence to revise the budget. (Applause.) I know that those to whom the Provisional Government will now appeal for help in this matter will not refuse, for this invitation will be addressed to those who are thoroughly acquainted with our budget, with our finances. And in making this appeal the Provisional Government will be guided not by party affiliation, but exclusively by the knowledge of and experience in our affairs. (Applause.)

Allow me, gentlemen, to touch upon another grave question. In this assembly one must tell only the truth, no matter how bitter it may be. I must state that the new revolutionary order draws more out of the treasury than the old régime did. Citizens, we cannot pass by this fact without notice. We do not know yet the total burden of expenditures which will be thrust upon the State Treasury, but we are already familiar with some of its features. According to preliminary calculations, the expenses of food supply committees, and

the various organizations connected with them will amount to 500 million rubles yearly. (Commotion on all benches. Shouts of astonishment.) The expenses of the Land Committees, in the round numbers given out by the Ministry of Finance, approximate 140 million rubles yearly. I do not have to tell you that the State Treasury cannot stand such heavy disbursements, and that a stop must be put to them. (Thundering applause. Shouts: "Right!")

But there is still another factor which greatly affects the financial condition of the State,—I have in mind the increase of wages. (Shouts from the Right and Center: "Correct!") The Poutilov mills alone are going to present, before the end of this coming year, a claim upon the State Treasury to the amount of 90 million rubles. (Commotion on the Left.) I shall not trouble you by citing any other figures. I presume that what has been said is enough. At the beginning of the Revolution the demands of wage increases were being granted freely not only by the munitions factories, but also by some private concerns, and it seemed then to be a private matter which the employers and employees would settle among themselves. But this was a great error.

In the final analysis, all these demands appear in the memorandum book of the Minister of Finance, inasmuch as when a private enterprise finds itself unable to stand the heavy expenditures which this increase involves, it applies to the Minister of Finance or to the State Bank demanding extra allowances or loans, etc. And it is significant that in such cases the demands of the industrial establishments are supported primarily by the representatives of the laboring democracy. It has become a common occurrence that an allowance is asked for not by the proprietor, not by the manager, but by the representatives of labor. From these delegates we learn that the enterprises actually cannot exist without the aid of the State.

Here are a few more figures: As compared with 1916, the decrease in land revenue for the first three months after the Revolution amounts to 32%; the city real estate tax has yielded 41% less revenue than for the corresponding period of 1916; the taxes on rent collected during the first three months of the Revolution were 43% less than during the corresponding period in 1916; war revenue was 29% less; industrial enterprises yielded 19% less; the tax on mortgages—11% less; the inheritance tax sank to 16% below what it was in 1916; insurance tax—27% less; and the redemption duties yielded 65% less. Citizens, the situation is critical, and only increased pressure exerted in the collection of duties and taxes will enable us to a certain extent to cover our deficits.

I have already told you in the beginning that the finances, like a mirror, reflect all our present difficulties. In this sense the Department which I represent is an extremely sensitive transmitter of all changes.

The Ministry of Finance is, more than any other Ministry, interested in a firm, definite and resolute policy of the type outlined by our Prime Minister. And, finally, I must point out that our finances are closely bound up with the country's defense. I shall be more definite: our power at home and at the front varies in direct ratio with the means which the Ministry of Finance has at its disposal.

Citizens, for the country's salvation it is necessary to establish order, organize the defenses and make every sacrifice to that end. Together with the entire Provisional Government, I ask you: 'Are you ready and are those who sent you here ready to accept these three basic conditions and to carry them out in practice to the best of your ability?'" (Continued applause.)

After the speeches of the representatives of the First, Second and Third Dumas, the National Conference was addressed by the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armies, General L. G. Kornilov.

General Kornilov's Speech

"As Commander-in-Chief I greet the Provisional Government. I greet the entire Conference in the name of the active armies. I would have been happy to add that I greet you in the name of those armies which there, on the frontiers, present a strong and impenetrable front defending Russia's territory, the dignity and honor of Russia, but with deep sorrow I must say that I am not certain that the Russian Army will, without hesitation, fulfill its duty towards the Fatherland.

My telegram of July 9th about the restoration of the death penalty on the military field, for traitors and betrayers, is known to all. The chief reason for this telegram, the cause that called it forth is the dishonor of the debacle at Tarnopol and that disgrace which the Russian Army up to the present time has never known. The shame of the defeat at Tarnopol—the inevitable and spontaneous result of that unheard-of disintegration to which our Army, once brave and victorious, was brought by outside influence and the perfunctory measures adopted for its reorganization!

The measures adopted by the Provisional Government after my telegram have undoubtedly brought a healthier spirit into the Army, but the destructive, disintegrating propaganda still continues in the Army, and I will cite facts.

For some time, since the beginning of August, the soldiers that have turned into beasts, that have lost all semblance of warriors, have been killing their commanders; the Commander of the Rifle Guard Regiment, Colonel Bikov; (Voices: "Let us honor their memory by rising.") the Captain of the same regiment, Kolobov, who was killed on the Kalinitzi station; the Officer of the Guard, Abramovitch; the Commanders of the 437th and the 43rd Siberian Regiments,

who were wounded and killed; the Commander, Kurgashev, of the Dubnenski Regiment was bayoneted by the soldiers. (Shouts: "Were the guilty hanged?")

But when the regiment that refused to surrender the instigators and criminals was surrounded by a specially chosen division, and the commissary, under the threat of annihilating the entire regiment by fire and sword, demanded that those criminals be surrendered, there was crying and imploring for mercy. (Shouts: "Disgrace!") The criminals were surrendered, they were court-martialed and are now awaiting the penalty which they will not escape. (Shouts: "Right!") Then the regiment promised to atone for the disgrace of its treachery. Thus, by the unshakable will of the revolutionary authority, crime was checked and the possibility of its further development nipped in the bud.

All these murders have been committed by the soldiers in a state of nightmare due to hideous, horrible lawlessness, ignorance and rowdyism.

Several days ago when the Germans attacked Riga, the 56th Siberian Rifle Regiment, so well known for its bravery in previous battles, arbitrarily left its position, laid down the arms and equipment and fled. (Shouts: "Shame!") And only through armed pressure, after I had, by telegraph, ordered the destruction of that regiment, did it return. (Shouts: "Right!" Applause from the Right.)

Thus, there is a relentless war being waged in the Army against anarchy, and the anarchy will be suppressed, but the danger of new outrages still hangs over the country. There is still the danger of new losses of territory and cities, and danger threatens the very Capital.

The condition on the front is such that we, on account of the disintegration of the Army, have lost entire Galicia, we have lost all Bucovina and the fruit of our victories of past and present years. The enemy, in several places, has already crossed the boundary and is threatening our most fertile States in the South. The enemy is making attempts to end the resistance of the Roumanian Army and to make Roumania leave our alliance. The enemy is knocking at the gates of Riga, and if the condition of our Army will not enable us to hold the shores of the Gulf of Riga, the road to Petrograd will be open.

As an inheritance from the old régime, free Russia received an Army in the organization of which there were considerable shortcomings, but none the less this Army was firm, pugnacious and ready for sacrifices. By a number of legislative measures passed after the Revolution, by people who did not understand the spirit of the Army, this Army has been transformed into a wild mob, valuing nothing but its life. There were instances when individual regiments expressed a desire to conclude peace with the Germans, and were ready to return

to the enemy the captured States and pay indemnities to the extent of 200 rubles for each soldier.

The Army must be restored, by all means, for without a restored Army there is no free Russia, no salvation for the Fatherland. For the restoration of the Army, the immediate adoption of the measures suggested in my report to the Provisional Government is necessary. My report was approved by the Chief of the Military Department, Savinkov, and the Commissaire coöperating with the Commander-in-Chief, Filonenko. (Shouts: "Good!")

I will briefly present to you the most important issues of my report.

The conclusions drawn from history and fighting experience show that without discipline there is no army. Only an army closely bound by rigid discipline, led by the sole will of its leaders, only such an army can be victorious and is deserving of victory. Only such an army can withstand all the trials of warfare. Discipline must be established in the everyday work of the army by giving proper authority to the superiors, the officers and non-commissioned officers. They must be given power to regulate the necessary inside work, force the soldiers to feed and clean the horses, clean their own lodgings,—that are very filthy now,—and thus save the entire living staff of the Army from epidemic, and, I will say, from plague.

I must remind those who have made the struggle for peace their ultimate goal, that the condition of the Army at present is such that even if, to the great dishonor of the country, the conclusion of peace were possible now, peace could not be concluded, for the disintegration that has taken hold of the Army cannot be realized, for the undisciplined, disorderly mob would ravage and ruin its own country. (Shouts: "Right!" Applause.)

The prestige of the officers must be restored. The officers' corps, that has fought valiantly during the war, that has, in an enormous majority, gone over and remained loyal to the cause of the Revolution, should now be morally rewarded for all the humiliation and systematic jeering it has had to undergo. (Shouts: "Right!") The material condition of the officers must be improved, (Shouts from the Left: "Ah-ha!") of their families, of the widows and orphans of the dead heroes. It is just to remark that this is almost the only body in Russia that never, up to the present, has mentioned its needs, that has not demanded the betterment of its material conditions. Their condition can be illustrated by the recent instance of that ensign who was picked up on the streets of Petrograd, who had dropped dead from exhaustion and hunger.

I am not an opponent of committees. I have worked with them as Commander of the 8th Army, and as Commander-in-Chief of the Southwestern Front. But I demand that their activities be confined to the economic and interior life of the Army, within limits defined

by the law, that they do not interfere with plans of military operations, with the fighting, and the election of officers. I recognize the commissaries as a measure necessary at the present time, but the guaranty of the effectiveness of this measure lies in the personal staff of the commissariat which must consist of people whose democratic, political trend of mind is marked by tact, energy and lack of fear of responsibility, which is very hard at times.

I shall quote a few figures which may depict the situation of the Army from another angle, particularly its provision with fighting equipment. At present the productivity of our plants working on munitions has been reduced to such an extent, that now, in round numbers, the producton of the chief necessities for the Army, compared to the figures for the period from October, 1916, to January, 1917, has been lowered thus: guns 60%, shells 60%.

I quote only these figures. Consequently, if this situation continues, our Armies will find themselves in the very same condition in which they were in the beginning of the spring of 1915, which later, as you well know, was responsible for the retreat of our Armies from Poland, from Galicia, and from the Carpathians.

I call your attention to another figure: At present, for the successful functioning of the Army, eyes are necessary. By eyes I mean fly-shuttles. For the activities of the artillery, fly-shuttles are also necessary. The condition of our fleet is such that neither with the equipment received from abroad nor with the output of our own plants can we make up for the loss in fly-shuttles. Not being able to fill the gap in gears, we are unable to fill the gap in aviators, for we have not the necessary equipment. At present the output of our plants working on aviation supplies has been reduced 80 per cent. Thus, if the most decisive measure will not be adopted our aero fleet, that has done so much for victory, will perish.

If measures conducive to the purifying of the Army's spirit and the raising of its fighting capacity are adopted, there must be no difference between the front and the rear with regard to the strictness of régime necessary for the salvation of the country.

But in one respect, the front, which is facing immediate danger, must have some privileges over the rear. If there should be a food shortage, the rear should suffer, and not the front. Proper measures must be taken without any delay whatsoever.

To those things about which I consider myself in duty bound to report, I will also add that in which I have always believed heart and soul and the evidence of which I am now witnessing. The country wants to live, and like an evil dream is passing away that suicidal state of our great, independent country, a state created by the irresponsible slogans spread among the most ignorant and dark masses.

For the effective realization of the will of the people, the immediate execution of the measures suggested by me is necessary. I do

not doubt for a moment that these measures will be passed without any delay whatsoever. (Applause.) But it is not to be admitted that the determination to carry out these measures should only be manifested under the pressure of defeat and loss of territory.

If decisive measures for the improvement of discipline at the front followed as a result of the devastation of Tarnopol and the loss of Galicia and Bucovina, we must not allow that order in the rear should be a result of the loss of Riga, and that order on the railroads be restored at the price of surrendering Moldavia and Bessarabia to the enemy.

I believe in the genius of the Russian people. I believe in the intellect of the Russian people, and I believe in the salvation of the country.

I believe in the bright future of our country and trust that the fighting capacity of our Army, her past glory, will be restored. But I declare that we must lose no time, we must not lose a single moment; determination and a firm, inflexible execution of the proposed measures are necessary." (Applause.)

The next speaker was General Kaledine, who spoke in behalf of the Cossacks. General Kaledine was one of the most impressive figures at the Conference.

General Kaledine's Speech

"Having heard the report of the Provisional Government regarding the difficult position in which Russia finds herself, the Cossacks of the twelve regions, the Don Cossacks, the Cossacks from Kuban, Tersk, Orenburg, Yaitzk, Astrakhan, Siberia, Amur, Transbaikalia, Semiretchinsk, Enissey, and Usuryisk hail the decision of the Provisional Government to liberate itself finally in matters of national ganizations, which, together with other causes, have brought the ganizations, which together with other causes, have brought the country to the verge of ruin.

The Cossacks, who have never known what serfdom means, the Cossacks who have been free and independent since time immemorial, who have always enjoyed a large degree of self-government, who have always adhered in their own life to the principles of equality and fraternity, are not intoxicated by the new freedom. Having received it anew, having regained the freedom which the Tzars had taken from them, the Cossacks, whose strength rests in their common sense and in their sane conception of the fundamental principles of statesmanship, have accepted the new freedom with dignity and calmness, and having immediately proceeded to put it into practice by creating, in the first days of the Revolution, military committees elected on a democratic basis, have succeeded in coördinating the principle of liberty with order."

After a short pause, Kaledine continued, with emphasis on every word:

"The Cossacks are proud to say that there were no deserters in their ranks, that they have preserved their strong organization and with the aid of this strong and free organization are defending and will continue to defend the country and her liberty. (Applause.)

Faithfully serving the new régime, having sealed with their blood their devotion to the cause of patriotism, and having always treated with contempt the slanderous attacks of provocateurs, who constantly accuse the Cossacks of being counter-revolutionary, the Cossacks pledge themselves at this moment of mortal danger to the country, when many military units have disgraced themselves by forgetting Russia, not to leave their historic course of serving the country with arms on the field of battle, as well as to help suppress the treachery at home. (Boisterous applause.)

At the same time the Cossacks wish to point out that the accusation of their being counter-revolutionary was thrust at them right after (Gen. Kaledine turns to the Left and stares fixedly at Tscheidze, Tseretelli and the other leaders of the Democracy.) the Cossack regiments, while saving the Revolutionary Government, at the request of the Socialist Ministers on the 16th of July came out as resolutely as ever to defend the country from anarchy and treachery with their arms. (Applause everywhere.)

Understanding revolutionary spirit not in the sense of fraternizing with the enemy troops, not in the sense of deserting our posts of duty, disobeying orders or demanding that the Government do the impossible, not in the sense of criminally robbing the national Treasury, not in the sense of destroying completely the personal inviolability of our citizens and their property, or in rude violation of the freedom of speech, press and assemblage, the Cossacks reject all accusations concerning their alleged counter-revolutionary spirit. The Cossacks know no cowards or traitors in their ranks and are striving to safeguard freedom and order. Noting with deep sorrow the general disruption of the national organism, the demoralization at the front and in the rear, the breakdown of discipline among the troops and the absence of local authority, the criminal fanning of class hatred, leniency towards usurpation of power by irresponsible organizations, as regards both the Central and local Government, noting the centrifugal tendencies of various groups and nationalities, the threatening proportions which the decrease in the output of our industries is assuming and the disruption in the domain of finance, industry and transportation, the Cossacks appeal to all the progressive forces of the country to unite in their labor and self-sacrifice for the sake of saving the country and establishing a democratic republic."

These words were greeted by boisterous applause from all factions of the Conference. Kaledine continued:

"It is our profound conviction that in these days, when the gravest danger is menacing the very existence of the country, everything must be sacrificed to the cause of saving the Fatherland. The Cossacks believe that to save the country it is necessary, above all, to bring the war to a victorious end in complete harmony with the Allies. (Boisterous applause from the Center and Right. E. C Breshko-Breshkovskaya also applauds.) To this fundamental purpose, the entire life of the country must be subordinated, and consequently all the activities of the Provisional Government. Only on this condition will the Government receive the full support of the Cossacks. There can be no room in the Government for those who desire Russia's defeat. (Thundering applause from the Right. Hisses from the Left. All eyes are fixed on Chernov, who is bending over his desk.)

In the name of the Cossacks of all Russia, I suggest the following measures:

(1) The Army must be kept out of politics. All meetings and assemblies with their party antagonisms must be absolutely forbidden at the front.

(2) All councils and committees in the Army must be abolished at the front as well as behind the lines, except those of the regiments, companies, divisions and other military units, and their rights and duties must be strictly limited to the management of the soldiers' economic affairs.

(3) The Declaration of Soldiers' Rights must be revised and amplified by the declaration of his duties.

(4) The discipline in the Army must be restored and strengthened by the most decisive measures.

(5) To insure the fighting capacity of the Army, the front and the rear must be recognized as one whole, and all measures required for strengthening discipline at the front must also be applied to the rear.

(6) The disciplinary rights of superior officers must be restored to them. (Applause from the Right.)

(7) The Army leaders must have their full authority restored.

(8) At this terrible hour of great reverses at the front and complete disintegration springing from political and economic disruption, the country can be saved from final ruin only by placing full power in the hands of firm, experienced and skilled people not bound by narrow party or group programs. (Loud applause on the Right.) not hampered by the necessity of turning back after every step in order to find out whether the various committees and councils approve or disapprove of their acts. (Restlessness on the Left. Applause on the

Right.) and who fully recognize that the people as a whole and not separate parties or groups are the source of sovereign power in the State.

(9) The Central as well as local Government must be undivided. A stop must be put immediately and abruptly to the usurpation of power by the central and local committees and councils. (Vigorous protests on the Left. Shouts: "Down with him!" "Counter-Revolutionist!" Enthusiastic applause from the Right.)

(10) Russia must be united. All separatist aspirations must be nipped in the bud.

(11) As regards the country's economic life, it is necessary (a) to observe the strictest economy in all departments of State life, carrying it out relentlessly, without deviation, to the very end; to immediately bring into conformity with one another the prices on agricultural and industrial products, (b) to at once regulate wages and profits, (c) to immediately take up the matter of working out and putting into effect a law regarding compulsory industrial service, (d) to introduce the strictest and most effective measures in order to check whatever tends to undermine the productivity of our farming industries, which are suffering acutely from wilful actions on the part of individuals and various committees who are violating the established laws of land ownership and rental, as well as those regulating the relations between landlords and tenants.

In conclusion, I must speak of the greatest coming event in Russia's national life, that to which the Russian people look forward in their expectation of securing a stable and firm foundation for their new national life,—I mean the Constituent Assembly. We demand that during the preparations for the elections, as well as during the time of the elections to the Constituent Assembly, the Provisional Government take all measures to safeguard lawful and fair elections throughout the country.

We believe that the Constituent Assembly should be convoked in Moscow because of the city's historic importance as well as its central location, and also in the interests of the work of the Constituent Assembly, which must be carried out systematically and uninterruptedly.

Finally, we make our appeal to the Provisional Government that in the bitter struggle for existence which Russia is now waging, it should utilize all the Russian people, all the vital forces of all classes in Russia. We appeal that the Provisional Government, itself, should include in its ranks, in this hour of stress, all the prominent leaders of the country, all that our Fatherland can give of her energy, knowledge, experience, talent, honesty, love and devotion.

The time for words has passed. The patience of the people is being exhausted. In order to save the country—it is necessary to act."

General Kaledine left the platform in the midst of an unprecedented commotion in the hall. The Right and a part of the Center applauded boisterously. From the Left came shouts of indignation and protest. The next speaker, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, N. S. Tscheidze, began his speech by answering General Kaledine.

Tscheidze's Speech

"Despite the fact that the necessity for the elimination of democratic organizations has just now been declared, I must start my speech by referring to these institutions.

And thus, in the name of the Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, in the name of the Executive Committee of the Peasants' Delegates, of the Executive Committee of the United Public Organizations, of the coöperative organizations, of the presidents of the food supply committees, in the name of the members of the Government Assembly, of the representatives of the organizations at the front, of the Army, and the soldiers' section of the Peasants', Soldiers' and Workmen's Delegations, in the name of the Executive Committee of the Pan-Russian Union of Crippled Warriors, of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Union of Crippled Warriors, of the representatives of the All-Russian Union of Zemstvos and Municipalities, of the Central Union of the employees of governmental, public, and private institutions, of the All-Russian Railway Constituent Convention, and the majority of the representatives of municipal self-government, I have the honor to make the following statement:

Russia is passing through days of grave, almost mortal danger; the troops of the enemy are invading the country, the Army is retreating, the finances are exhausted, the railroads are out of order, and industry is being disrupted, and does not meet the demands of the Army and the population. Hunger is threatening the city. At the same time, the disintegration in the Army and the anarchistic outbursts in the country show that the dissatisfaction of the masses is threatening to assume such forms as will be detrimental to the very existence of the State and to the gains of the Revolution.

At this grave time, before the whole country, the Democracy once more declares its firm determination not to stop before any sacrifices for the salvation of the country and the Revolution.

In the Councils the Revolutionary Democracy has not been striving for power, has not been seeking a monopoly for itself, but has supported any power capable of safeguarding the interests of the country and the Revolution.

In the chaos of destruction it was striving to organize the masses of the people for the purpose of building up a government and solving the economic problems of the nation. It has always placed the interests of the country and the Revolution above the interests of separate classes and groups. (Applause.)

Under the extraordinary and difficult conditions not everything that is necessary has yet been done, and not everything is done as it should be. Though, in the phenomena, the decomposition of the Army and the anarchistic outbursts, the heritage of the old régime and the threatening apparition of anarchy are still apparent, yet, looking back at the past five months, we may safely say that only due to the revolutionary organizations has the creative spirit of the Revolution been preserved; that is saving the country from dissolution and anarchy.

Any attempt to destroy the democratic organizations, to undermine their significance, to form a gap between them and the supreme authority and make the governmental power a tool in the hands of the privileged and propertied classes is not only a betrayal of the revolutionary cause, but a betrayal of the country.

By demanding from those in power a more decisive and consistent adoption of the program of July 21, the Revolutionary Democracy is protecting not the exclusive interests of any separate classes or groups but the common interests of the country and the Revolution. This program is a development of the program of May 19, on the basis of which the coalition was formed.

At a time when the very existence of the Revolutionary State is being threatened by the enemies' invasion, the Democracy demands that the citizens and the Government concentrate all efforts for the organization of the country's defense.

The Government must remember that relying only on the active support of the democratic organizations in the rear and at the front, it could achieve the enormous task. The united Revolutionary Democracy recognizes that the vital interests of the country and the Revolution urgently demand the immediate application of a number of reforms:

1. In regard to the food supply and provisioning,—it is necesssary to preserve the monopoly over bread and establish fixed prices on farm products. On the other hand, a complete series of measures is necessary to supply the rural population with the products of industry, as far as it is possible under the present conditions. The fixing of prices on the essential products of industry and the regulation of wages are also necessary. Success in carrying through the measures concerning the food supply policy and in supplying the people with the products of industry is impossible without the most active participation, in the production, as well as in the distribution of farm

products and manufactured articles, of the coöperative organizations, under the general management of governmental and food supplying organizations. Together with this, we must utilize the private commercial institutions as far as possible and expedient.

2. In the sphere of commerce and industry,—the problem of the country's defense and of the organization of supply imperatively demand the regulation of the transportation system and increase of the productivity of industry. The increase of productivity demands, first of all, from the Government, the establishment of control over production and active interference with the management of the food supply system, not hesitating to resort to Government ownership and monopolies. In so far as the decrease in productivity can be charged to the consciousness of the working masses, the labor organizations will with still greater energy continue the struggle with this phenomenon. The Government, in its turn, must not delay the putting through of the program of stringent measures safeguarding labor, which will be conducive to the increase of productivity. Together with this, the creation of a chain of employment bureaus for the distribution and assignment of the labor forces, the creation of a chain of courts of arbitration and the safeguarding of the right to organize for the workers of all branches of labor are necessary. In turn, the labor organizations must actively strive to increase the productivity of labor, in the interests of the salvation of the country and of the Revolution. The regulation of production and supply and the establishment of fixed prices must be followed by a regulation of the mutual relations between capital and labor, and in case of necessity, by the introduction of compulsory labor for all classes of the population.

3. In the financial sphere, together with the passing of stricter laws regarding income taxes, taxes on war profits and also amending the inheritance tax, it is necessary to tax increased values and articles of luxury, to introduce such a high temporary income tax that the taxation of the propertied classes together with the loan will prove sufficient for covering the deficit of the State Treasury. It is necessary to increase the existing taxation on the articles of everyday necessity, and to introduce new taxes. With regard to loans, decisive measures must be taken by the Government to make them compulsory. It is necessary to pass a number of measures to increase the funds of the Government Bank, which must be reorganized. Private credit institutions must be subject to Government control. On its part, the united Democracy thinks it necessary to exert all efforts in the support of the financial measures of the Government, in the establishment of a method for the successful collection of taxes and putting through the Liberty Loan.

4. In the domain of agrarian reform, an energetic, rational and

systematic coördination is necessary. It is necessary to repudiate all seizures of land by individuals as well as by groups and societies. The regulation of agricultural relations must be left to the land committees. The immediate enactment of laws and instructions defining the rights, obligations and the form of the land committees is also of importance.

5. For the organization of the Army, the following measures must be passed. It is necessary to separate the rights and duties of the commanding staff from those of the commissaries and the Army organizations. Complete independence must be granted to the commanding staff in the field of military operations, also the deciding power in the sphere of military preparations. The commissaries must be the promoters of the revolutionary policy of the Provisional Government. Their activities must be placed in close connection with the Army organizations. The Army committees must receive legal confirmation of their rights. Extraordinary measures of revolutionary action must be subject to the approval of the commissaries; the work in the rear, the supplying of the needs of the soldiers must be rendered effective; the Government and society must make it their duty to render help to the maimed warriors.

6. In the sphere of local autonomy and government, the most rapid organization in the interests of strengthening the revolutionary order is imperative. The organs of local administration must fulfill the functions of the State Government. Intensive work is required, and also the coordination of the activities of the Municipalities and Zemstvos with their militia. The commissaries are the organs of administrative government for the time of the Revolution only. From the moment of election of the members of local administrations, the executive committees and public organizations lose their authority.

7. On the national question, the Provisional Government must issue a declaration recognizing the full right to self-definition for all nationalities, to be confirmed by the popular Constituent Assembly. We must issue a decree granting equal rights to the non-Russian nationalities in the use of their own languages and extend civil and political rights to schools, to the courts, etc. We must form a council to deal with national problems, in which the representatives of all the nationalities of Russia will participate."

The speaker ended his statement with an appeal for the support of the Provisional Government, demanding that it be given full power:

"The self-seeking of irresponsible and selfish groups must be sacrificed to the interests of Russia as a whole. Suppressing every manifestation of anarchy, the revolutionary authorities must relentlessly nip in the bud all attempts of counter-revolutionary conspirators to exploit the Fatherland for their criminal purposes.

Let the masses see that everything necessary is done for the salvation of the country. Let them know that the revolutionary authorities will protect the revolutionary gains of the people from any encroachment. Such a power will have the undivided support of the broad masses of the people. Such a power will not be frightened, either by anarchistic revolts or by counter-revolutionary conspirators.

The special measures, to which the Government will find it necessary to resort in the interests of establishing revolutionary order, will have the confidence of the people, for they will see in them not the manifestation of wilfulness, not the policy of revenge, not cowardly concessions to the aims of any group, but necessity dictated by the vital interests of the country and the Revolution. Such a power will be able to cope with the difficult and responsible problems of the country's defense, to safeguard the conquests of the Revolution up to the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, which will sanction the adoption of a republican form of government, which, in fact, has already been accepted by the people." (Thundering applause.)

AFTER Tscheidze, the Delegates, Martiushin, Krondratiev and Ponomarev spoke in the name of the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Council of Peasants' Delegates and the All-Russian Peasants' Union. They expressed their solidarity with Tscheidze. A powerful speech was delivered by the former Secretary of War in the Provisional Government, A. I. Guchkov.

Guchkov's Speech

"Soon a half year will have elapsed since the coup d'etat which completed the process of demolishing the old historic government, a process started long ago. This coup d'etat was not the secret work of conspirators. From the very beginning it assumed the form of a vast national movement which had taken hold of the various strata of society, the different political currents. Think of the verdict which has been unanimously returned by the Russian people through the Imperial Duma in regard to the old Government. The incompetence in this war and the beggarly equipment of the Army have prolonged the war and are responsible for innumerable sacrifices. Under the influence of some direct force outside of and above the Government, our relations with the Allies were becoming strained. Industry and commerce were rapidly disintegrating and the Government had neither the constructive ability nor the power to check this process of disintegration. Dissatisfaction was spreading in the various social spheres and among the masses.

The realization that the main cause of all the disruption of the

country's life lay in the Government, which was under the influence of directly responsible elements, was very rapidly taking shape. The day of judgment was approaching, and it finally did come. The creative powers of the Russian people, freed of the old tyranny, seemed to be in a condition to cope with the difficulty which was beyond the power of the old autocratic Russia, was going to be solved easily by free Russia. The war was going to be brought to a successful issue and Russia, in the role of victor, in accord with her Allies, would magnanimously reject all territorial annexations, would dictate such terms of peace as would safeguard her economic development and protect her from German exploitation. The attention of the Government was going to be turned to the interests of the masses that had been disinherited under the old régime. New social legislation was going to safeguard the interests of labor and radical land reforms were going to create that class of well-to-do peasantry which would be the country's strongest bulwark.

Now gentlemen, why have you failed to realize all this? Why were our hopes shattered, why were we disappointed? Why do the representatives of the Government come to us, terror-stricken, and in despair, why do their anxiety and fright find a response in our souls?

Gentlemen, we must give credit to the political wisdom and the sense of duty of those who were not afraid to come here in this fatal hour in order to tell the country publicly about the true state of affairs and to hear the opinion of the people. How unusual this has become during the last six months! This voice must speak bravely and truthfully and must help the people realize the situation and the Government to disentangle this complicated network of phenomena which constitutes our present political life. Gentlemen, we fought poorly, now we are fighting still worse, and at times we do not fight at all. Are we going to be defeated? I do not know, but we are headed in that direction. The grave moral disease which has seized the country is continually spreading. Our economic life is ruined beyond repair. Entire branches of industry are rapidly dying out, others are hardly able to exist. The equipping of the Army is daily becoming more and more difficult. Supplying the country with the prime necessaries of life is something impossible of realization, while the decrease in the country's productivity is assuming terrible proportions. Financial bankrupty is already an established fact and the State Treasury depends entirely upon the speed with which paper money can be printed.

This is a true picture of the present situation in Russia, a picture which we can portray with the aid of those data scattered through the various reports of the members of the Government. This picture has one more characteristic feature,—that is its resemblance to the pre-revolutionary times. In the center of this chaos and disaster

the Russian Government stands out as the main cause; and all the means for remedying these social evils which in their ensemble form that deadly disease which is leading our State to ruin, all these lead us to one problem, the problem of placing our central Government on a sound basis. This problem is constantly before us. Gentlemen, the Government's chief ailment is the fact that it has no power. This Government, in spite of all its pompous attributes of power, with its gestures, terminology and intonation for which we have already acquired distaste, is but the shadow of a government. (Applause.) This contrast between the imperative necessity for the creation of a real form of truly statesmanlike Government and the convulsive quest and passionate longing for such Government is all the more tragic.

Gentlemen, why this fatal constantly recurring failure? Can we hope that the problem of government will be solved along the same lines on which our investigations have been directed heretofore? I shall not speak about the fundamental mistake committed by the Russian people or, to be more exact, by its leading spheres. I shall not tell about the crisis which finally produced the coup d'etat. I admit the historic guilt of these leading spheres when it became clear that no coöperation with the old régime was possible; when the country's salvation depended upon the removal of that power, those leading spheres did not take it upon themselves to guide the Revolution, but joined the ranks of the revolutionists on an equal basis with the other elements. (Shouts: "Correct!") This historic blunder predetermined the very character of the Revolution and all subsequent events. The coup d'etat, under the circumstances under which it occurred, rushed forward to the front rank the power of the so-called revolutionary democracy. This term did not, by far, cover all the democratic elements, so numerous in our truly democratic people. This revolutionary democracy which was created first in Petrograd and then throughout the country is at present the actual master of the situation and has of late been vested with governmental power. This power has in this way been limited to the appointment and change of cabinets. This was a continual and very despotic control over the official Provisional Government.

Think of the famous ultimatum and the vigorous protest of the Executive Committee of the Duma, my resignation as a last attempt at protest against the dangerous situation when all the power lies in the hands of irresponsible individuals and all the responsible ones are left powerless. This feature of our political system has remained and in it lies the main cause of our Government's weakness and the hopelessness of any attempt to create a strong Government; the sacred cause of justice for all is part of the very nature of a

Democracy." (The Chairman: "Your time is up." Shouts from the Right: "Continue! Continue!" Guchkov left the platform without finishing his speech.)

AT the session of August 27th I. G. Tseretelli debated with V. A. Maklakov, emphasizing the importance of the organizations of the Revolutionary Democracy.

Tseretelli's Speech

"At the time when nobody was at the helm of State, and the masses of the people, left to themselves under the tempestuous fire of the Revolution, might have tumbled down to anarchy leading to the destruction of the State, the Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates were the sole supporters of organization. All those who at the present moment want to paralyze these basic, vital organs with the aid of which the Russian people and the peoples inhabiting Russia are still fighting, all those who want to save the State by any means which would exclude the people from active participation, commit a crime against the State.

General Kornilov has drawn a terrible picture for you. Terrible it is that we pay dearly for every lesson of history and that for the restoration of order, of railroad communication, we must lose a few very important strategic points. Yes, this is terrible, but, if the people will not retreat before the deadly blows of the enemy, there is still hope that the lost territories will be recaptured. However, there is one price that cannot buy interior order, and that is loss of faith in the people, in the people's power, in the forces of democracy.

If such an order should be established, it would be an order unfit for a living organization. It would mean the funeral of free Russia. The task of the Government is to establish order and organize the defense of the country in such a manner that all the forces of the people may be brought into play, and the entire capital of the people's organizations used for the cause of the country's salvation.

We speak of sacrifices; the Democracy does everything for the salvation of the country. Tell me, was that limitation of power, the transfer of all the governmental functions, as a whole, to the Coalition Government by the Revolutionary Democracy at the time of severe trials—was that resorting to force? We realize that the time has come when the governmental power must be centralized in the hands of the Coalition Government. If such a thought, which can only be the product of a madman's mind or of a small, isolated group of insane individuals, that the time has come when order can be restored in the country by suppressing all the democratic organizations created by the activities of the people them-

selves,—if such a thought were translated into action, who then would stand up in defense of freedom and the very existence of the country? (Applause.) Only the power of the people,—the people's organizations, part and parcel of the people,—can show the true path; and in order to cure the ulcers and wounds of the country it is necessary to stimulate the activities of the people themselves.

It has been said here that there is only one basic question and when that is solved joint work will be possible. It is the question concerning our attitude to the war, the question of the defense of the Fatherland, the question of patriotism. But there are two kinds of patriotism. One—formulated by Wilhelm, who said that he loves his Fatherland to such an extent that he would want all to fear it as the Hun and Atilla were feared. This is a specific kind of patriotism; it manifests itself in war. But there is another kind of patriotism embodied in the Revolution. We love our country and we will defend her to the last drop of blood from any violence and from any subjection. Our great pride, our greatest ideal is to see our country defending herself and standing up for her rights, and holding up to the world the light of freedom, the torch of right and justice to all nationalities. (Applause.)

That is what we understand when speaking of the struggle for a general peace. Only the Revolution can save the country. We want all the living and the able to fight for the future. All the living forces of the country should unite on this platform. Maklakov says: 'Do not separate the country from the Revolution or else we will choose the country.' Don't you understand that he who separates the country from the Revolution takes out the very soul from the living country? Only the Revolution can save the country. There is only one way left and that is democratic organization, the unification of the forces of the Revolution for the sake of the common interests. It is the task of the Government to learn the will of the common people which can only be realized through the efforts of the people. The democratic program and the program for the salvation of the country are at present synonymous; one cannot be separated from the other. (Boisterous applause from the Left.)

Are the propertied classes ready for sacrifice? Let the Government demand whatever is necessary for the cause of the salvation of the country, and we will closely unite and support this democratic power, and together with it, we will exert all our efforts for the salvation of the country. But now is not the time to protect any interests that are not in complete harmony with the interests of all the people.

I have heard shouts that indicate differences of opinion. There was applause at times on one side, and at times on the other. I declare: 'Long live the honest, real democratic coalition that does

not stop before any sacrifice!' I know that here (Pointing to the Left.) there will be applause; but will there be any there? (Pointing to the Right.) (Thundering applause from the entire hall.)

Long live the democratic coalition of the Revolutionary Government!" (Boisterous applause, culminating in an ovation for Tseretelli and the Provisional Government.)

I. G. Tseretelli was answered, in behalf of the industrial class, by A. A. Boublikov, former Commissaire of the Duma, whose speech made a deep impression on the Conference and on the country.

Boublikov's Speech

"I am taking the floor to answer the question put point blank to the trade-industrial class. I refer to the question of sacrifices, the question put by citizen Tseretelli, the noble leader of the Russian Democracy.

Our industrial life, our finances will be saved by a carefully elaborated financial policy based on a knowledge of the country's needs, but in order to place our finances on a sound basis it is necessary to know the financial situation in which our country finds itself.

Russia's entire industry and the industries operating on a bond basis represent five billion rubles. At the present disgraceful rate of exchange, this amounts to one billion dollars; consequently, Russia's entire industry can easily be bought up by a single American billionaire. With all the dividends issued in 1915 amounting to less than half a billion rubles, what sacrifice can save Russia, whose deficit will inevitably reach the 60 billion dollar mark on the 1st of January, 1918? What sacrifice of this poorly developed industry, left us a heritage by the old régime, can save the situation?

The situation can be saved only by the greatest possible creative effort of the industrial and commercial spheres.

And the trade-industrial class is turning to labor for wisdom, the source from which you yourself derive your wisdom, Count. They bear in mind the German rule: during war organization is necessary, and not improvisation. And we in time of war coupled with Revolution have undertaken to suddenly abolish the trade-industrial class. We are accused of desertion, but who made it absolutely impossible for us to aid the Fatherland? Did we leave the organizations of our own accord, did we refuse to do the work? We were forced out of the ranks. (Applause.)

However, my words are not prompted by the spirit of offense, but by deep sorrow that the Fatherland, at the moment when the greatest constructive efforts were required, was under the unfortunate illusion that this could be realized easily and rapidly, by

putting out of the game, one of the greatest forces in the country, a force which has already, long ago, manifested its ability to do constructive work.

And now, when, on the third day of the session, we have heard the long awaited words, when for the first time a brotherly hand has been extended, this hand,—I declare in the name of the trade-industrial class,—will not remain unclasped.

You have committed a great error, you have applauded the words of your fellow-citizens to the effect that the commercial and industrial classes are the enemies of the country. We wait and trust that these sentiments will become relics of the past, that these words will become obsolete, and that, in offering us a coalition, you will offer it not only honestly, as we have offered it, but that you will also treat us respectfully. (Applause.)

And then the industrial and commercial classes will find the greatest happiness in union with you, and side by side with you will stand in the ranks of those working for a new life for happy Russia, the life for which it thirsted for so many years, and in the creation of which we participated, through our representatives. The trade-industrial class will use those creative forces to make entire Russia prosperous and enable it to reward its employees liberally, as the rich and powerful employers do in foreign countries, instead of compelling them to toil for a pittance when the industry itself is gasping for breath. (Shouts: "Bravo!" Applause.)

And we offer you all our knowledge, our experience, in order to avoid upheavals and in order to perform all this creative work in the shortest period of time and with the greatest benefit, not for us, but for our dearly beloved Fatherland." (Unanimous applause. Boublikov and Tseretelli shake hands; boisterous ovation.)

AT the session of August 28th, most outstanding were the speeches of the veterans of the Russian Revolution, E. C. Breshko-Breshkovskaya, Peter Kropotkin and George Plekhanov. The audience stood up as one man when A. F. Kerensky spoke their names.

Breshko-Breshkovskaya's Speech

"I thank you, citizens, for the honor which you have just bestowed upon me. Allow we to say a few words regarding my views on the present situation. I have listened to all the speeches that have been made during the last two days and have arrived at the conclusion that this great gathering fully expresses the views held by entire Russia. And I must tell you that the population of the entire Russian State has passed the test.

Despite my deafness, I am sure that nothing was said or printed in the newspapers that would testify to any contradictions to be found in the speeches delivered here. It was unanimously admitted that we have a country and that the country is worthy of being defended with all our might. (Loud applause; shouts: "Correct!")

I have lived long; I have experienced many historic events; I have thought over and experienced many a thing. I know that words and promises sometimes hang in mid-air for a long while, and therefore I consider that it is our duty to start the work of carrying out all that we have spoken about immediately after the Conference is over.

Our Army must receive its leaders in the persons of those who have been present here, for the main trouble lies not so much with the Army at the front as with the reserves. Our reserves have remained without work for three years and they are degenerating because of this idleness. Those people who have already been taught through experience, who have already been there in Petrograd and participated in the various councils and who know what is going on in the Army, they are the ones who must immediately go to the reserves and organize our garrisons. Nothing can be accomplished before this is done.

In the rear there are no teachers, no friends, no instructors, and instead of wasting so much time in Moscow and Petrograd, it is better to go to the reserves and prepare the Army for the great cause.

Citizens! Workers! Do not think that your duty is done if you merely speak; hard work for the benefit of the people and the Army is still more essential. All Russia to a man must now get busy working on army supplies. We have twenty million young, healthy soldiers; they must be fed, shod, clothed, equipped with ammunition. Entire Russia, women included, are working, and therefore you, also, comrades, workers, must remember that your labor is needed just as much as that of the Army to save the Republic. (Applause.)

Citizens of the bourgeois class,—you who are endowed with intelligence, abilities,—come you also to the rescue of Russia! Where are you, where is your knowledge, where is your devotion? Where is your work for your country's salvation? So far, no one has felt it! You realize that the people need enlightenment; why, therefore, do you withhold it? Who is working to that end, who is agitating among the unenlightened population? I do not see, I do not hear anything of the sort. The people remain friendless, without teachers, without leaders, even as they were before.

This is a grave blunder. Under the Tzar's régime we used to say that the Russian people are a great people, a capable, devoted people, but the Tzars are hindering their progress. Citizens, now nobody and nothing will check the progress of the glorious Russian people. (Loud applause.)

As regards our capitalists, great and small, I must tell you that upon them rests a great, bloody sin. I am impartial,—you know the class of people I come from. I have many friends among the bourgeois class, but I repeat that our enemy at home is just this merchant and capitalist class. They actually deserve that the Government hold them to account for their actions. I would urge the Government to send as many teachers to the people as possible. This must be done or else we shall remain in darkness, a condition which gives rise to such occurrences as we are at present living through, occurrences that constitute counter-revolution.

In Petrograd and Moscow meetings are held daily while in the villages there are none. The men teachers have been called to the front and the women teachers are mostly taken from the ranks of insufficiently educated and the 100 millions who form the very foundation of Russia remain illiterate. This is a sin that weighs on the conscience of the bourgeois class. You have the means, the literature, the writers, and it is up to you to take up this matter. If you do not attend to this, upon you will rest the guilt, you will have to render account to Russia.

Citizens, my soul is torn asunder. On the one hand, I heartily rejoice seeing the unanimity which is being achieved on the question regarding Russia and her welfare; on the other hand, I am seized with anxiety even as I was on the 16th of March when, sitting in Minusinsk, I received a telegram informing me that the Revolution had been accomplished, that the people were free, and that I might return. I was extremely happy and yet my heart ached with anxiety. I wondered how we would carry through this Revolution.

I repeat, citizens, beginning with to-morrow we must see all the fine words that were spoken here carried into practice." (Loud applause; all members of the Conference, among them the Ministers, rise and give "Grandmother" an ovation.)

Peter Kropotkin's Speech

"Allow me also to add my voice to those voices which have called the whole Russian people to break once and forever with Zimmerwaldism and to rise together, closely united, in defense of the Fatherland and the Revolution. (Applause.) In my opinion, the Fatherland and the Revolution are indivisible. The Fatherland made the Revolution and it must carry the latter to the end. Citizens, we are in a protracted war, the most terrible months of which are the last months. Why, during these last months, has not the question been decided as to who shall conquer and who shall be defeated? If the Germans should be victorious, the consequences would be so dreadful for us that it is simply painful to speak of or prophesy such things."

Kropotkin spoke of the territorial loss and indemnity in the event of German victory and continued:

"But there is something even worse than that. There is the psychology of a vanquished country. (Voices: "Right! Correct!") The psychology of a defeated country I learned by living in France. I am not a Frenchman, but I became intimate with them and my heart pained when I saw how France humiliated herself before Alexander and Nicholas, the French Republic degraded itself before a General Boulanger, because she felt herself so badly defeated that she resorted to any means to liberate herself from this defeat. Is it possible that we also shall have to live through this? Never! (Applause of the whole assembly.)

Comrades, Soldiers, look how the Italians, at this dangerous moment, fighting in a terrain so dreadful, with mountains on which every gun must be dragged up an inclined plane of 45 degrees, fighting under these conditions, are gaining victories. And why are they so anxious to be victorious at the present moment? In order to relieve us in Roumania, in Odessa, on which the Austrian army is advancing. Follow their example, comrades! (Applause from the Right. Voices: "Long live the Italians!" Noise.)

Comrades, citizens, the war is one thing and the work in the rear another thing—however, an important thing. Repressive measures, in this case, will get us nowhere. Something else is needed; it is necessary that the great mass of the Russian people should understand and see that a new era is approaching, an era that will give the whole people the opportunity to obtain education, to live not in that terrible, horrifying poverty and squalor in which the Russian people have lived up till now and lived at all times,—even at the time when it is earning millions, as it is said, in Petrograd. It is necessary that the Russian people should understand that we are doing everything to improve the conditions of their life and open for them the gates to light, freedom and education. (Applause from the Right.)

Allow me, citizens and comrades, to call you to this creative work. Some one spoke here of how inexperienced our Democracy is. True, we are all inexperienced.

Gentlemen, you have—I am not speaking of your capital—you have something that is more important than capital,—the knowledge of life. You know life, you know commerce, you know the manufacturing industry; give us, then, your knowledge; add to the energy of the committees and councils, combine the former with the latter and apply them to the up-building of the new life. The new life we must have. (Shouts: "Bravo!" Boisterous applause.) In Petrograd we have lines in which the wives of workmen have to stand two, three, four and five hours in order to obtain bread and a little milk

for their hungry children. Is that organization? Where then are you, city heads and organizers of the municipal economy, that you can't regulate it? Isn't that your duty, your sacred duty?

I must not take up much of your time, but I will speak of one thing more. It seems to me that it would be proper for us here, at this assembly of the Russian land, to state our firm desire that Russia be openly declared a republic. (Shouts: "Right!" All rise; boisterous applause culminating in an ovation.) And, citizens, the republic must be a federated one, in the sense in which we see it in the United States, where every state has its own legislative bodies, these legislative bodies deciding all the interior problems, while the Republic in all its decisions needs the consent of several States or of all the States.

And you know how they stood up together when it became necessary to play the forces of the Democracies against the base Austro-German monarchy. (Noise and boisterous applause.) I think that it is not without reason that all the Democracies of the whole world have united against Germany, and even the Democracy of China has joined and will help us worthily. And so I think we shall not be encroaching upon the rights of the Constituent Assembly. I fully recognize that the sovereign decision of such a question should be left to the Constituent Assembly. But it seems to me that if this assembly were to approve our desire that Russia be declared a republic, we would thus have facilitated the work of the Constituent Assembly, and all the peoples of all Europe and America would be thankful to us. ("Right!" Thundering applause.)

Comrades, let us promise each other that we will not stand divided into the Right and the Left. (Boisterous applause.) We have but one Fatherland, and for the whole of it we must all be ready to die, the conservative and the radical." (Thundering applause, culminating in an ovation.)

Plekhanov's Speech

"In this solemn and threatening hour which the Fatherland is living through, it is the duty of every one of us to emphasize not that which divides us, but that which unites us. (Boisterous applause.) I have been a Revolutionist and only a Revolutionist. I hope and am convinced that you will have enough patience to listen to the frank confession of a Russian Revolutionist. (Boisterous applause)

If we should exactly formulate that which took place in the spring of 1917, we would have to say that the Revolution was really made by the country. The people rebelled, a storm broke out, and our Imperial Duma supported this storm. It coöperated with this rebellion, and in that lies its great merit. We would have been ungrateful and ignoble people, if we had forgotten that.

But it is necessary to remember that in order that the entire

people should finally rebel against the disgraceful régime, extremely long, intensive, and self-sacrificing work was necessary. It is necessary, with historic impartiality, to say that this long, intensive and self-sacrificing labor was performed by the extreme revolutionary democracy.

I have courageously and bitterly criticized some mistakes of our Party, and here, in the Russian National Assembly, I solemnly declare that the great merit of our extreme revolutionary democracy lies in the fact that the revolutionary democracy exists and that those people are poor politicians who want this democracy to cease to exist.

Speaking to those who represent the bourgeoisie, or, now that this term is beginning to acquire a somewhat odious meaning, I will say, appealing to those who represent the commercial and industrial class, I will say, citizens, the moment has now arrived when you, in the interests of all Russia and in your own interests must seek rapprochement with the proletariat, must seek better relations with the working class.

Citizens, more than once has it been said by many of you,—who of us has not said it more than once,—many a time have you said that at the present time, among other things, Russia is faced with the great problem of developing her productive forces. You agree with this. We, Socialists, also agree with this; we understand that a country whose productive forces are in a low stage of development is incapable either of political, economic or social progress. (Applause; voices: "Right!")

Yes, a great development of forces must be the program that all connected with the social-productive process, in one way or another, set before themselves. But everyone must understand, and, of course every one understands that at present, in any modern country, the most valuable, the only undoubtedly productive force is its working class, its toiling population. (Shouts from the Right: "Right!")

Addressing the revolutionary democracy, addressing it rebukingly, I hear you say: 'Yes, the revolutionary democracy was given this and that, but still the revolutionary democracy was ready to conclude a separate peace.' No, though individuals and madmen in the ranks of this revolutionary democracy have allowed themselves to make criminal speeches of this kind, still our revolutionary democracy, in its entirety, will never agree to a separate peace. I, who have differed with this revolutionary democracy on many things, permitting myself to speak in her behalf, vow to you that the revolutionary democracy will never commit such baseness. (Applause; shouts: "Right!") We will not agree to a separate peace because we do not want to betray our Allies, we do not want to betray them, and with pride do we say that our Allies are at the lead of civilization!

And so, even if this party of the extreme revolutionary democracy has committed the errors it is accredited with, still, citizens, you will not get along without it. Our situation is such that you, representatives, I shall say, of the propertied classes, you representatives of the commercial and industrial classes, you who sit in this hall, partly on the Right, partly in the Center, you must understand that at the present time a somewhat systematic and fruitful economic life and struggle with the exterior enemy are impossible if you, in one way or another, will not come to an agreement with the extreme revolutionary democracy, and, once you see the course for this agreement, once you are ready to recognize the program of broad, sound reform—here is the course, here are the means for agreement with the extreme revolutionary democracy, because, what is the declaration of the 8th of July, if not a demand, if not a desire of the extreme revolutionary democracy to obtain ordinary reforms in the interests of the working class?

Now, comrades, allow me to address you, on the Left. If something or other in my words does not appeal to you, then I ask you to calmly give me a hearing. If errors should appear in my speech, you will recollect that for forty years I have been working under the revolutionary banner and during forty years one may make even several mistakes.

Comrades, recollect, when Lenine, of sad fame, came to us and spoke on the second or third day in the Petrograd Council of Workmen's Delegates, and said that the working classes, together with the Peasants' and Landworkers' Delegates, should immediately take the governmental power into their own hands—how did you answer him then? You, the majority of the Petrograd Council of Workmen's Delegates, said: 'No, this program we do not accept, because Russia is now passing through a capitalistic Revolution, and when the country is passing through a capitalistic Revolution to grasp power, full power, is absolutely wrong.' And one of you,—I do not know exactly who,—(A voice from the Left: "Tseretelli.") reminded us of the extremely meaningful words of our common teacher, Frederick Engels, to the effect that for the working class there can be no greater misfortune than to seize full governmental power at the moment when it is not yet ripe for the fruitful application of this power in deeds. Is it not true that these words were uttered, and that these words were applauded by the majority of the Petrograd Council?

Comrades, once you adopt this point of view, once you understand the full political and theoretical depth of these words, you must, in keeping with this point of view, determine your relations to the commercial and industrial class. There cannot be any capitalist revolution in which there is no bourbeoisie. There can be no capitalism in which there are no capitalists. As this is logical, it must be understood, and it is necessary to act in accordance with it.

Since we still have to pass through a capitalistic development, then it is necessary to remember that this process is double-sided, in which, on one side, the proletariat acts, and on the other, the bourgeoisie, and if the proletariat and the bourgeoisie do not want to injure their interests, then the one and the other class must in good faith consider economic and political agreement.

When the elections for the Constituent Assembly begin, then probably the Russian people, the Russian toiling masses, will say that they are ready to follow our extreme revolutionary democracy. But what will this signify? What will this fact of the tremendous and, in some instances, the unexpectedly successful outcome of our municipal elections signify? This fact will signify that all of us, revolutionaries and Socialists, have signed, to the toiling masses, a promissory note for a tremendous amount. This note will be discounted by the working class. This note will be discounted by the proletariat of the toiling masses in general. But there is no note which it is not necessary to pay. Similarly, then, for you, citizens, there will come the time when it will be necessary to pay this note.

Even if you should commit the mistake, the mistake of isolating yourselves, if you should not do everything necessary to attract to you all the forces of the country, for the joint work, you will not be in a position to pay this note, not because you will not have sufficient good will,—the will you will have,—but because there will not be enough power for that. (Voices: "Right!" Applause.)

And when you appear before the toiling masses as an insolvent debtor, how will that be taken, how will that be understood by the toiling masses?

Do not fear to admit certain errors that you have committed. Yesterday, Comrade Tseretelli, to my greatest satisfaction, hinted at some of them in his speech. Do not fear to admit these mistakes. And as the object is not to repeat these mistakes, avoid repetition, avoid isolation from the commercial and industrial classes. And besides, aside from this class and aside from the proletariat, there are a number of other classes who will welcome such an agreement. This agreement will make us powerful, unconquerable, and then no Mackenzens, no Hindenburgs need be dreaded by us.

But if, citizens,—I am talking to the Right and to the Left,—if we do not come to an agreement, what will happen then? Our ruin. (turning to the Right.) Our ruin. (turning to the Left.) The entire country will be ruined. Let me remind you of an Irish legend about two cats who fought so stubbornly and so cruelly that only their tails remained.

But you, representatives of the extreme revolutionary democracy, and you, representatives of the commercial and industrial class, must not be adherents of an unprecedented struggle, the results of which

would leave only your and our tails, and only a tail would be left of Russia to the great joy of the German capitalists." (Voices: "Correct; right!" Applause.)

The National Conference was closed on August 28th with the following speech by Premier Kerensky:

Kerensky's Concluding Speech

"The National Conference is ending. The Provisional Government, in spite of all the doubts entertained by many before this Assembly, convened it and does not repent now. The Provisional Government held and still holds that this Assembly is of tremendous significance, because the delegations of the citizens of entire Russia, of all parties, of all classes, have assembled and have expressed openly what they think, that which, in their opinion, is necessary for the country in these really dangerous days. And I believe that a greater respect for one another has been attained, that the consciousness has been attained that there are times when every one must forget class or blood affiliations.

The Provisional Government has been enabled to take a snapshot, so to say, of the political trend of the country. The Government has come here with the words: 'Order, sacrifice, labor,' and the Assembly has answered: 'We will sacrifice, we will labor, we want order.' Some have modified their answers with 'If our neighbors will do the same.' It is necessary that someone begin. I am confident that those to whom the freedom of the Fatherland, the struggle for the future is dearest, will begin. (Applause.) We are told: 'You have already sold yourselves to the bourgeoisie.' But this is said not by those who sit in this hall, but by those whom we have been able to take care of by suppressing the revolt of July 17th, the revolt against the people's Government. We are told that we are a mirage and a shadow, that we are in the power of a dark force and are not free in our actions, but I must say that the Provisional Government is not dependent on any force except the one, sole force, the force of the people's will, and that we seek.

I shall not summarize the opinions that have been expressed, but everything said here will be taken into consideration for the saving of the country. (Boisterous applause.) That which, in our conviction, will not coincide with the interests of the country, we will not do, no matter what the pressure should be, even if we should be threatened with physical compulsion. We were told that the Provisional Government is rapidly leading the country to ruin. We realize that the Provisional Government exists only six months and that the Empire existed two hundred years, and many did not want to take the power from the hands of the old Government, wisely arguing

against assuming, in the last months of the war, the responsibility for the sins of others. The Provisional Government did not fear to shoulder this responsibility, neither the first Provisional Government, nor the present one. We have taken upon ourselves both the sins of the old Government and the war, and we not only take these sins, but we say: 'Cursed be the one who advises that we end the struggle now.' (Boisterous, continuous applause from all seats.)

We, perhaps, will come in for sincere, but unjust attacks, for the responsibility falls on the successors. Much of which the present Provisional Government is accused was adopted by the first Provisional Government. I, alone, was the only representative of the democracy in the first Provisional Government, and that was not because I was so strong that I did everything I wanted, but because it was impossible to do otherwise. It was demanded by life, it was demanded by the interests of the country. And whoever comes into power will do that which is demanded by life. You, yourselves, know that the present Provisional Government, which is more democratic, has adopted measures which the first Provisional Government did not dare adopt, could not adopt, for they would not have been understood by the country. Stolypin was mentioned here, but Stolypin placed himself, by violence and compulsion, above the popular will and suppressed attempts at protest with iron and blood. We are now only protecting that which is necessary for the country, cutting off those who want to submit the popular to their private or group desires. (Shouts from seats: "And what about Zimmerwald?")

The Provisional Government considers as the most basic and vital problems, the problem of the Army and the strengthening of the country's financial and economic life. Everything that can be done, we want to do. We would want the symbolic handclasp to bear results. The Provisional Government will aid the rapprochement of the two sides, protecting the interests of each of the conciliating parties. The Provisional Government regrets that statements were allowed here on the subject of agitation in the Army. It is necessary to remember that every careless word, every untactful movement tends to irritate. It is necessary to know the limitations of this question, and I dare assure you that we will take all measures to strengthen the fighting power of the Army, and I will not agree to any measures which, in my conviction, tend to produce opposite results. At times, even at present many commanders resort to such measures, which should not be permitted, and I have to adopt extraordinary measures. It is necessary not to create an unhealthy curiosity on the question of the Army. The Provisional Government, closing the present Assembly, expresses deep appreciation to all of you for coming to aid in its difficult task.

On the question of the Army, I must retain my objective point of view. Those who were talking of a marked breach must remember that it is not yet possible, in the Army and Navy, to leave the commanding staffs and the soldiers, face to face, that not needlessly have the commissaries come into the Army and Fleet. They were necessary.

Perhaps the hopes of the present Assembly will not be realized, perhaps the country will not have enough forces to find the road of salvation, but everyone will remember that the Russian citizen, called to the common, only cause, that of saving the country, went hand in hand with his brother, sweeping aside everything that created enmity and thinking only of the Fatherland.

To-morrow we are returning to our difficult task, but allow me to say, in the name of the Provisional Government, that our Fatherland will never be lost."

CHAPTER XV

The Fall of Riga and Kornilov's Revolt

THE Moscow Conference showed clearly that the various progressive groups were unable to unite on a single political and social program. Germany naturally took advantage of this situation, the growing political chaos within the country and the demoralization in the Armies. She resumed pressure on all the fronts, and the Russian Armies steadily retired, many regiments making no show of resistance. On August 31 it became evident that the Germans were preparing an advance on Riga. On September 2 the German troops crossed the Dvina southeast of Riga, and an offensive was started in the region of Mitau, southwest of Riga. On September 3 it was officially announced that Riga had surrendered.

The loss of Riga intensified the political unrest in Russia. Petrograd became apprehensive over the approach of the Germans, and large numbers of people began to leave the city. The storm broke on September 9, when General L. G. Kornilov, who on August 2 had succeeded General Alexis A. Brusilov as Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armies, rose in revolt against the Provisional Government. Premier Kerensky, in an official announcement on September 10, so explained the circumstances under which Gen. Kornilov started his revolt against the Provisional Government:

"On September 8th General Kornilov sent to me the Duma member, Vladimir Nikolayevich Lvov, with the demand that the Provisional Government hand over all civil and military power to General Kornilov, with the understanding that a new Government be selected by General Kornilov, in accordance with his own judgment. That Deputy Lvov was really authorized to make the statement was confirmed in the course of a conversation which I had with General Kornilov over a direct wire.

Seeing in this demand on the Provisional Government the desire of certain spheres of Russian society to take advantage of the difficult situation in order to establish a régime in direct contradiction to the achievements of the Revolution,—the Provisional Government has found it necessary, in order to save the country, our liberty and the republican form of government, to authorize me to adopt a speedy

and resolute course in order to nip in the bud all attempts at usurping supreme power in the land and against the civic rights, won by the Revolution.

All measures necessary to safeguard liberty and order in the country are being taken and the people will be informed about them in due time.

At the same time, I order that

1. Kornilov give up his position of Commander-in-Chief and I appoint as his successor General Klembovsky, Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Front barring the way to Petrograd. General Klembovsky is ordered to temporarily assume the Chief Command and to remain in Pskov.

2. The City of Petrograd and the County of Petrograd are declared in a state of siege, subject to the laws and regulations governing localities declared in a state of siege.

I call upon all citizens to observe the absolute calm and order which is necessary for the salvation of the country.

I call upon all men in the Army and Navy to perform their duty calmly and with utmost devotion, in order to defend the country from the foreign foe."

To this General Kornilov responded with the following open telegram:

"The telegram, No. 4963, of the Prime Minister, is one big lie as far as its first paragraph is concerned. I did not send the Duma member, Vladimir Lvov, to the Provisional Government, but he came to me as the messenger from the Prime Minister, and the member of the First Duma, Al. Aladyin, can bear me out. Thus, the great act of provocation has taken place which puts the fate of our country at stake. Russians, our great country is dying, the hour of death is approaching. I am compelled to come out into the open.

I, General Kornilov, declare that the Provisional Government, under the pressure of the Bolsheviki majority in the Councils, is playing into the hands of the German General Staff, and while the landing of the hostile forces is expected on the Riga coast, the Government is killing the Army and ruining the country.

The consciousness of imminent danger to the country bids me at this hour of stress to call upon all Russians to stand up for the defense of the country, which is practically dying. Every one in whose breast beats the heart of a Russian, all who believe in God pray to the Lord that he work a miracle—the miracle of saving the country.

I, General Kornilov, the son of a peasant and the descendant of a Cossack, tell you, one and all, that I personally do not want anything except to save Russia, and I pledge myself to secure for the people, through victory over the foreign foe, the convocation of the

Constituent Assembly, in which the people themselves will decide upon their destiny and will choose the form of their new political life. To betray Russia into the hands of her old enemy, the Teuton, and to make the Russian people slaves to the Germans,—I cannot bear the thought of it, and prefer to die on the field of battle so as not to see the Russian land disgraced. People of Russia, the fate of Russia is in your hands."

In addition, General Kornilov sent the following telegram to the Central Naval Committee:

"I, the Commander-in-Chief, General Kornilov, declare before the entire people that my duty as a soldier, my devotion as a citizen of free Russia and my boundless love for my country have prompted me at this hour of stress to disobey the orders of the Provisional Government and to retain the position of Commander-in-Chief of the people's Army and Navy. Supported in this decision by the commanders on all fronts, I declare to the people of Russia that I prefer death to resignation from the post of Commander-in-Chief. A true son of the Russian people always dies at his post and sacrifices on the altar of his country the greatest of all his possessions, his life.

At this truly horrible period of our country's existence, when the road to both Capitals is almost open to the triumphal march of the enemy, the Provisional Government, forgetting the grave question of the country's independence, hurls at the people the illusory fear of counter-revolution, which it calls forth through its incompetent administration, through its weakness and indecision.

It is not for me, having given all my life loyally to the country's service, to desert my post of guardian of the liberties of our great people who have a glorious future ahead of them. But at present this future is in the hands of weak, spineless people. The haughty foe, who, through bribery and treachery, is disposing of our country as though of his own, is menacing not only the cause of freedom but the very existence of the Russian people. Wake up, people of Russia, from your madness and from your blinding fear, and cast a glance at the steep precipice towards which you are drifting headlong.

To avoid the clash of arms, to avert all the bloodshed that would result from fratricidal war, and forgetting all insults, I say publicly to the Provisional Government: 'Come to my headquarters, where your liberty is guaranteed by my word of honor, and together with me work out the Government plan for national defense, which, while securing victory, will lead the Russian people to its great future, the future fully deserved by the great and free people.'"

The conflict was launched. The Provisional Government sent the following telegram to the Provisional Commissaries,

signed by Premier Kerensky and the Minister of Interior, Avksentiev:

"The former Commander-in-Chief, General Kornilov, had the audacity to voice the seditious demand that the Provisional Government yield its power to him. In reply to the order to resign from the post of Commander-in-Chief, General Kornilov, backed by the reactionary forces in the country, has moved part of his troops, whom he has deceived by false information, against Petrograd. The crucial hour of fratricidal war, called forth by his treachery, is approaching.

The vast majority of his troops remain faithful to the Provisional Government and to the democratic Republic. To safeguard the liberties won by the Revolution, the Provisional Government has taken all measures to defeat the new enemy.

General Kornilov's treachery at the most difficult moment in our war with Germany, when the enemy troops are threatening the Capital, must consolidate all the sound elements in the country in order to save the country and the cause of liberty from the threatened peril.

The Provisional Government suggests that the Commissaries explain to the people the events which are now taking place and call upon them to observe order and keep calm. The Provisional Government suggests that the Commissaries take all necessary steps to safeguard the achievements of the Revolution from the sinister attempts directed against them. In complete harmony with the troops and the democratic organizations, the Commissaries must resist the counter-revolutionary outbreaks and the riots of the ignorant masses. For the salvation of the country, all attempts to weaken the strength of the people, in their struggle for liberty and the defense of the country against treason and the foreign foe, must be suppressed by the most decisive measures."

At the same time A. F. Kerensky, as Prime Minister and Minister of War, issued the following orders:

An Order to the Troops of Petrograd

"The former Commander-in-Chief, General Kornilov, who has risen against the authority of the Provisional Government, and who, in his telegrams, has been proclaiming his patriotism and loyalty to the people, has now proven himself in reality a traitor. He has drawn regiments from the front, thus weakening the resistance to the foreign foe, and has sent those troops against Petrograd.

He talks about the country's salvation and deliberately brings about a fratricidal war; he claims that he is in favor of liberty and at the same time sends a division of troops against Petrograd.

Comrades, the hour has struck when your loyalty to the cause of liberty and the Revolution will be put to the test, and fully conscious

of the sacredness of your duty towards the country, you will meet firmly and valiantly your former comrades now deceived by Kornilov. Let them see before them true revolutionary regiments, firmly determined to defend the Government and the Revolution. And let them, before it is too late, realize the shamefulness of the vicious cause which they have been sent out to defend.

If, however, they fail to understand, I, your Minister, am certain that you will perform your grave duty to the very end, without any fear."

An Order to the Cossacks

"Cossacks! In the days of the March Revolution, when the old autocratic power was overthrown by one mighty, united stroke of the entire nation, you, liberty-loving and free, were in the front ranks of the revolutionary people who had risen against the Government.

In the dark days of July 16-18, when an irresponsible handful of people made the first attempt to pave the way for counter-revolution through a political coup d'etat, true to your duty, you responded to the first call of the Provisional Government, stood up solidly for the defense of all the achievements of our great Revolution and fearlessly obeyed the sacred will of the Democracy.

Now our country is living through a new and difficult trial. At the head of the counter-revolutionary conspirators is the former Commander-in-Chief, General Kornilov. In the face of the entire Army of many millions, he has committed the criminal act of mutiny against the entire people and against its head, the Provisional Government.

But the entire Army and its best leaders and officers have remained true to their revolutionary duty and have not stained their honor with the base act of treachery.

The Provisional Government and, with it, the entire nation firmly believe that the liberty-loving and free Cossacks will, as ever, remain in the front ranks of the revolutionary troops, and in complete solidarity with the entire Army and the people, honorably and bravely suppress the seditious attempt of the sinister conspirators."

In this crisis the Revolutionary Democracy placed her full and active support behind the Provisional Government. The Executive Committee of the All-Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates and the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Council of Peasants' Delegates issued the following joint appeals:

To the Entire Army

"Comrades, officers and soldiers! General Kornilov has mutinied against the Revolution and the Provisional Government. He wants

to restore the old régime and to deprive the people of land and liberty. For his criminal ends he is ready to open the front to the Germans and betray the country.

Comrades, soldiers and officers! The Revolution and the country call upon you to perform your duty. Stand up, all of you, as one man, for the defense of your land and liberty. Not one of General Kornilov's orders must be carried out. Obey only the orders of the Provisional Government and of the Central Committee of the Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates. Rally around them! Now that the foreign foe is threatening Petrograd, the Army must remain united and strong. Now every officer and every soldier is especially needed by the country which they must defend against the foreign foe.

A negligible handful of traitors are taking part in the mutiny against the Revolution. There must be no lynching of officers or soldiers. The Provisional Government and the Executive Committees are taking all measures towards discovering all the participants in the plot, who will be made to suffer the punishment they deserve.

Comrades, soldiers and officers, act unanimously. In this way you will save the country from the foreign foe. Thus by saving the country and liberty, you will save the Republic and the democratic organization of the Army. In this way, you will save yourselves and you will avert unnecessary sacrifices.

For the sake of all this, the Executive Committees of the Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates call upon all officers and soldiers to rally to the defense of the country, the Revolution and the Provisional Government against the traitors who have arisen against the Revolution and against the people."

To All Railway Workers

"Comrades! General Kornilov has betrayed the country and the Revolution. He has declared himself a dictator and has the audacity to bear arms against the Provisional Government.

For the sake of his criminal schemes he is ready to destroy the Russian Army through civil strife and to open the frontier to the enemy. He is seeking to drown the Revolution in blood and is sending troops against Petrograd.

The Provisional Government and the Central Executive Committee of the Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates have taken all measures to suppress the mutiny started by the treacherous General. All democratic parties, all Petrograd workingmen and soldiers have responded to the call of the Revolution and will crush every attempt at armed uprising against the Provisional Government and the Capital.

But it rests with you, railway workers, to avert unnecessary bloodshed. Do your duty without relaxing your zeal. Let your

committees keep vigilant watch over the movement of troops towards Petrograd, let them inform the Central Executive Committee and let them obey unconditionally all orders of the Provisional Government and of the Central Committee to detain the troops or to send them in another direction.

The hour has struck and the country and the Revolution are demanding from you faithful service. It is up to you to prove that you are worthy sons of revolutionary Russia.

All orders of General Kornilov must remain unheeded and must immediately be communicated to the Central Executive Committee. Obey only the Provisional Government and the Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates."

Events moved rapidly and on September 15 the Provisional Government was able to officially announce that Gen. Kornilov's revolt had been suppressed. The revolt ended almost without any bloodshed, with Gen. Kornilov's arrest. A. F. Kerensky was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armies and Gen. Alexeiev was appointed Chief of the General Staff.

Immediately thereafter it was deemed expedient to officially declare Russia a Republic. The declaration was signed, in behalf of the Provisional Government, by Premier Kerensky and Minister of Justice Zarudny:

"General Kornilov's mutiny is suppressed. But great is the disturbance which it has created in the Army and the country. And the danger which is threatening the fate of the Fatherland and its freedom is again great.

Considering it necessary to put an end to the outward indefiniteness of the form of Government, remembering the unanimity and the enraptured acceptance of the republican idea demonstrated at the Moscow Conference, the Provisional Government declares that the Government order by which the Russian State is ruled is a republican order, and proclaims the Russian Republic.

The necessity for adopting immediate and resolute measures for the restoration of the tottering Government order has impelled the Provisional Government to transfer all its governing authority to five persons of its personnel, with the Minister-President at the head.

The Provisional Government considers as its chief problem the restoration of governmental order and the fighting power of the Army.

Convinced that only the concentration of all the living forces of the country can extricate the Fatherland from that difficult situation in which it finds itself, the Provisional Government will invite into its ranks the representatives of those elements who put the permanent

and common interests of the Fatherland above the temporary and private interests of separate parties or classes.

The Provisional Government has no doubt but that it will accomplish this task within the next few days."

MANY details of the Kornilov episode are still missing and many important documents must still be published before the public will be able to come to an impartial and fair judgment of this event. Several things, however, are almost certain. The first is that Kerensky knew about the movement of several detachments from the Front towards Petrograd, and it is probable that as Prime Minister and Minister of War, realizing the growing Bolshevist danger, he called for them.

V. N. Lvov played the most fatal role in the incident, presenting A. F. Kerensky, in behalf of Gen. Kornilov, with an ultimatum about which Gen. Kornilov most likely knew nothing. This ultimatum made the movement of Kornilov's detachments towards Petrograd appear, in Kerensky's eyes, as a counter-revolutionary movement endangering the country's liberty. Kerensky demanded that Gen. Kornilov give up his post of Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armies. This demand was sudden and humiliating for the General and he refused to obey.

There is no doubt but that Kornilov's revolt was a great misfortune for Russia. It resulted in massacres of innocent officers in the Army and Navy; it gave strength to Bolshevism, which used the danger of a counter-revolution as a means to excite the masses, to make them suspicious and to throw them, finally, against the Provisional Government. However, it is only a minimum of justice to state that General Kornilov, although committing a wrong, was impelled to his action by patriotic motives.

The disintegration of the Army was Kornilov's personal tragedy. Probably none of the generals in the Russian Army felt the approaching catastrophe as keenly as Kornilov. He was always frank in expressing his views and at the beginning of the military crisis, in July, 1917, on being appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Southwestern Front, he sent the fol-

lowing telegram to the Minister of War, A. F. Kerensky, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armies, General Brusilov:

"An Army of ignorant people gone mad, with demoralization and disintegration unchecked by the Government, with their sense of self-respect and dignity lost, is fleeing.

On the fields, which cannot even be called fields of battle, dishonor and terror are reigning supreme, to an extent which the Russian Army has never known since the very beginning of its existence.

This disaster can be checked, and this dishonor must be removed either by the Revolutionary Government or, if they prove incapable, the inevitable course of history will push forward other people who will at the same time destroy the achievements of the Revolution and thus deprive the country of happiness.

There is no choice, the Revolutionary Government must adopt a firm and definite course. That is the only salvation for the country and for freedom.

I, General Kornilov, whose entire life from the first days of my conscious existence was spent in devoted service to my country,—I state that the country is perishing and therefore, though I have not been asked for advice, I demand that all offensive operations be stopped on all fronts at once, in the interests of saving and safeguarding the Army from disintegration, for the purpose of reorganizing it on the principles of strict discipline and in order to save the lives of many heroes who have a right to see better days.

As a temporary measure, called for exclusively by the desperate situation, it is necessary to immediately restore capital punishment and to establish court-martials in the war zone.

We must not deceive ourselves; indulgence on the part of the Government, while shattering the discipline which is so indispensable in the Army, at the same time gives rise to uncalled-for cruelty on the part of the unrestrained masses, a cruelty which finds expression in violence, robberies and murders.

We must not delude ourselves; the Army is constantly menaced not only by the enemy's bullets, but by our own people as well.

Capital punishment will save many innocent lives at the cost of a few cowards and traitors.

I declare that while I occupy my present high and responsible post, I shall never consent to serve as a tool for destroying my country. Enough! I say that if the Government will not sanction the measures I propose, and in so doing deprive me of the only means of saving the Army, and of using my authority for its true purpose, the defense of the country and the cause of liberty, then I, General Kornilov, will of my own accord resign from the post of Commander-in-Chief."

On August 1st, appointed Comander-in-Chief of the Russian Armies, General Kornilov sent A. F. Kerensky the following telegram:

"The decision of the Provisional Government appointing me Commander-in-Chief, I shall obey as a soldier in duty bound to be an example of military discipline, but, as Commander-in-Chief and a citizen of free Russia, I declare that I shall remain at this post only so long as I feel that I am useful to the country and to the existing order.

In view of the above stated, I hereby wish to inform that I accept the appointment on the following conditions:

1. I shall be responsible to my own conscience and to the people at large.

2. There shall be no interference with my orders referring to military operations, consequently there must be no interference with my appointment of the commanding officers.

3. All measures lately introduced at the front are to be valid in the rear as well wherever there are any reinforcements for the Army.

4. The acceptance of my suggestions, offered by telegraph to the Commander-in-Chief, regarding the Conference at Headquarters on July 31.

I hereby announce that only on condition that the above-mentioned terms are accepted will I be in a position to perform the duties imposed on me by the Provisional Government, and in perfect accord with the gallant officers and the enlightened soldiers lead the Army and the people to victory and the much-desired, just and honorable peace."

Kornilov's feelings for the Army and its tragedy are probably best expressed in his farewell order to the troops of the Southwestern Front, issued on August 2, after his appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armies:

"Appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Armies on the Southwestern Front, I accepted the post at a moment fraught with difficulties. The break in our lines caused by the wilful, treacherous retreat of the Mlynsky and Olyksky regiments of the 6th Grenadier Division, has grown into a catastrophe affecting a considerable part of the Front. Nevertheless, I did not hesitate for a moment to assume the duties of Commander-in-Chief at such a critical moment, and I accepted the post because I always believed, and shall continue to believe in the gallantry and heart of the Russian officer and soldier, whom no criminal propaganda of people who have sold themselves for money to the eternal foe of Russia will ever make forget their duty towards the country and the honor of their people and the Army.

My faith in the officers and the soldiers of the Russian Army did not play me false. In the continuous battles raging on the Southwestern Front the Armies grew steadily stronger and dealt heavy blows to the enemy, who had to continually send forward new and fresh divisions. True that under the pressure of numerically superior forces our Armies were compelled to retreat to the frontier, but this did not keep them from attempting counter-attacks from time to time and even an offensive, frequently compelling the enemy to flee and taking many captives and much booty.

Fully realizing the heavy responsibilities devolving upon me at this hour of stress, upon which our country's future is dependent, I was forced to take upon myself the initiative in the matter of restoring capital punishment and revolutionary court-martials. But I decided upon this step firmly believing that the entire Army, the entire people of Russia share my views at this moment, for it is only by stringent measures that the Army can be purged of traitors and spies. I know that in a strong guiding will lies the salvation of the Army and the country's future, the support of the commanding staff and the control of the soldiers. I knew this and did not hesitate to resort to the most drastic measures for the sake of the country's salvation. I do not regret my step for daily facts present themselves showing that the Army's strength and power of resistance are increasing, thus proving the necessity for and advantages of my decisions.

On August 1st I was appointed by the Provisional Government Commander-in-Chief of all the Armies, and again, for the sake of the salvation of the country and our freedom I accepted, without hesitation, with a firm belief in the spirit and courage of the entire staff and rank and file of the Armies entrusted to my care, the complicated and responsible duties at this difficult moment in the reorganization of the Army.

Generals, Officers and Soldiers! In the continuous battles of late you have shown your determination, your will to win or die.

Generals, Officers and Soldiers! I trust that the Russian Army, steeled by its experiences and united into one family bound together by iron discipline, will again wage an offensive. I trust that this offensive will prove victorious and will decide the fate of the people and the outcome of the war, and will lead to immediate peace.

Leaving the Armies of the Southwestern Front to-day, I bid you farewell, my valiant comrades-in-arms.

For the conscientious service and the great work performed by the Chief of Staff and all the officers of the Headquarters, I thank all the Commanders of the various Armies and all the generals, officers and soldiers, and all those who worked with me in the interests of the Armies at the Front."

CHAPTER XVI

The Democratic Conference and the Preliminary Parliament

IN addition to the National Conference, the Executive Committee of the Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates, under the pressure of the growing crisis, called the Democratic Conference, which met on September 27. The composition of this Conference was more democratic than that of the National Conference. The Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates were represented by 230 delegates; the Municipalities, 300 delegates; the Zemstvos, 200 delegates; the coöperative societies, 120; the trade unions, 100; the Army organizations, 83; the Cossacks, 35, etc.

The Democratic Conference resulted in the creation of a new coalition Cabinet, the last Cabinet under Premier Kerensky, and in the formation of the Preliminary Parliament. The new coalition Cabinet, aside from Kerensky, was composed of M. I. Terestchenko as Minister of Foreign Affairs; Nikitine, Minister of Interior; S. S. Maslov, Minister of Agriculture; Bernatzky, Minister of Finance; A. I. Konovalov, Minister of Trade and Industry; Gvozdiev, Minister of Labor; S. N. Prokopovich, Minister of Supply; Tretiakov, President of Economic Council; Maliantovich, Minister of Justice; Salaskin, Minister of Education; Kartashev, Procurator of the Holy Synod; General Verkhovsky, Minister of War; Admiral Verderevsky, Minister of the Navy; Liverevsky, Minister of Means of Communication; Kishkin, Minister of Public Welfare, and Smirnov, State Controller. According to party affiliation, there were in the new Cabinet, aside from the Minister of War and Navy (non-partisan), 2 Socialists-Revolutionists, 5 Social-Democrats and 8 Constitutional-Democrats. On October 8th the new Cabinet issued the following declaration:

"Great, boundless is the responsibility of the Provisional Government, on whom devolves the historic task of bringing Russia to a state where the convocation of the Constituent Assembly will be possible. The burden of this responsibility is alleviated only by the deep conviction that, united by the common desire to save the Fatherland

THE LAST PROVISIONAL CABINET

(1) A. F. Kerensky—Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief (2) M. I. Terestchenko—Minister of Foreign Affairs (3) A. M. Nikitin—Minister of the Interior and of Post and Telegraph (4) A. V. Liverovsky—Minister of Ways of Communication (5) M. V. Bernatzky—Minister of Finance (6) N. M. Kishkin—Minister of Public Welfare (7) A. I. Konovalov—Minister of Trade and Industry (8) S. Smirnov—State Comptroller (9) S. N. Prokopovitch—Minister of Supply (10) S. S. Maslov—Minister of Agriculture (11) S. N. Tretyakov—President of the Economic Committee (12) V. M. Maliantovich—Minister of Justice (13) General Verkhovsky—Minister of War (14) Admiral Verderevsky—Minister of Navy (15) K. A. Gvozdev—Minister of Labor (16) S. S. Salazkin—Minister of Education (17) A. V. Kartashev—Procurator of the Synod.

and to protect the achievements of the Revolution, the representatives of all classes of the Russian people will understand the necessity for coöperation with the Provisional Government in establishing a firm governmental power, capable of realizing the urgent demands of the country and bringing it, without further upheavals, to the Constituent Assembly, the convocation of which, it is the deep conviction of the Provisional Government, cannot be postponed for one day.

Leaving to the Constituent Assembly, the sovereign master of Russia, the final solution of all great questions on which the welfare of the Russian people depends, the Provisional Government holds that only by carrying out energetically a series of resolute measures in all spheres of State life, will it be able to fulfill its duty and satisfy the urgent needs of the nation.

In the firm consciousness that only a general peace will enable our great Fatherland to develop all its creative forces, the Provisional Government will continue incessantly to develop its active foreign policy in the spirit of the democratic basis proclaimed by the Russian Revolution.

Acting in complete accord with the Allies, the Provisional Government will, in the next few days, take part in the conference of the Allied Powers. At this conference the Provisional Government will be represented, among other Delegates, by one who particularly enjoys the confidence of the democratic organizations.

At this conference our representatives, together with the solution of common questions and military problems, will strive towards an agreement with the Allies on the ground of the principles proclaimed by the Russian Revolution.

Striving for peace, the Provisional Government will, however, use all its forces for the protection of the common, Allied cause, for the defense of the country, for resolute resistance to any efforts to wrest national territory from us and impose the will of any foreign power on Russia, and for the repulsion of the enemies' troops from the borders of the Fatherland.

For the purpose of securing for the revolutionary authorities close contact with the organized public forces and thus imparting to the Government the necessary stability and power, the Provisional Government will in the next few days work out and publish a decree establishing a Provisional Council of the Republic,* which is to function until the Constituent Assembly convenes. This Council, in which all classes of the population will be represented and in which the delegates elected to the Democratic Conference will also participate, will be given the right of addressing questions to the Government and of securing replies to them in a definite period

*The Provisional Council of the Republic is more known under the name of the Preliminary Parliament.

of time, of working out legislative acts and discussing all those questions which will be presented for consideration by the Provisional Government, as well as those which will arise on its own initiative. Resting on the coöperation of such a council, the Government, preserving, in accordance with its pledge, the unity of the governmental power created by the Revolution, will regard it its duty to consider the great public significance of such a council in all its acts up to the time when the Constituent Assembly will give full and complete representation to all classes of the population of Russia.

Standing firmly on this program, which expresses the hopes of the people, and calling upon all for immediate and active participation in the preparations for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly in the shortest period of time, the Provisional Government presumes that all citizens of Russia will now rally closely to its support for the united work, in the name of the basic and paramount problems of our time, the defense of the Fatherland from the foreign enemy, the restoration of law and order and the leading of the country to the sovereign Constituent Assembly."

The Preliminary Parliament was opened on October 8. Its membership was limited to 555. Due to the fact that 53 Bolsheviki and 5 members of other factions, who joined the Bolsheviki, left the Preliminary Parliament at the beginning of its activities, there remained 497 members. Of these 153 represented the middle class, the so-called bourgeoisie, and 344 the laboring masses.

The life of the Preliminary Parliament was short. It was dispersed by the Bolsheviki on November 7, 1917. On November 6 A. F. Kerensky made his last speech before the Preliminary Parliament, which throws light upon the power that brought about the downfall of the Provisional Government and brought Russia to its temporary ruin.

Kerensky's Last Speech

"Gentlemen of the Preliminary Parliament, the Provisional Government has authorized me to make the following statement:

Of late, the nearer the day for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly approaches, the more arrogant, persistent and shameless are the attempts of the two wings in our political life to prevent the convocation of this Assembly which will fortify and indorse for all time the free and democratic order won by the great Russian Revolution. At the same time more persistent are growing the endeavors to disorganize Russia's defense and betray the liberty and independ-

ence of the country into the hands of the cruel and relentless foe who is moving on our Capital. The Provisional Government, as I have already said on more than one occasion, and as I have said here, considers it its duty to safeguard the rights granted the citizens and their freedom to exercise their political and personal rights, and it therefore remains, as you can see, indifferent to the very pointed criticism to which it is being subjected in the press, at the public meetings and gatherings.

I shall take the liberty, for the purpose of substantiating my statements and making it impossible for anybody to reproach the Provisional Government for wrongly accusing or maliciously libelling any party, I shall take the liberty, and I consider it my duty to cite for you the most definitely phrased passage from a number of proclamations published in the local paper 'Rabochiy Put' in the form of 'Letters to the Comrades' by Ulyanov-Lenine, the much-sought offender against the State who is now in hiding. This said offender against the State called upon the proletariat of Petrograd and upon the troops to repeat the experiment of July 16-17, and argued in favor of the necessity of an immediate armed uprising. Thus, for example, in one of the issues containing the first of a series of these proclamations, Ulyanov-Lenine wrote: 'On the 16th of October, in the morning, I learned that at a very important Bolshevist meeting in Petrograd the question of the uprising was being discussed in detail. At that meeting were present all who were prominent in the Bolshevist activities in the Capital, and only a negligible minority—two comrades—disapproved of the uprising. It is necessary to analyze their arguments and expose the grounds for their hesitation in order to prove how disgraceful they are.' I shall not expatiate on the arguments in favor of an immediate armed uprising, but I must say that this same proclamation ends in the following way: 'What are you going to wait for? Are you waiting for a miracle? Are you waiting for the Constituent Assembly? Are you waiting, you who are hungry! Kerensky has promised to call the Constituent Assembly.' In the next appeal the very same Ulyanoff definitely puts the question of an immediate uprising, and says that procrastination in this matter is equivalent to death.

Simultaneously with these appeals, a series of statements were issued by other leaders of the Bolsheviki at a number of meetings at which they called for an immediate armed uprising. In this respect, especially noteworthy are the speeches made by the President of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates of Petrograd, Mr. Bronstein-Trotzky, and by some other organizers of the revolt. The same kind of proclamations and appeals, with the added appeal to disobey the military authorities, appeared in another party publication printed especially for the soldiers and supposed to counteract the 'pernicious' influence of the paper 'The Voice of the Soldier,' issued

by the Central Committee of the Councils—I refer to the newspaper 'Soldier.'

It is very typical, very significant, that—and the Members of the Preliminary Parliament will please note—according to the admission made by the organizer of the revolt, Ulyanoff-Lenine, the position of the Russian extreme left wing of the Social-Democratic Party is especially favorable. Just think of it: (Here Kerensky reads) "The Germans have only one Liebknecht, no newspapers, no freedom of assemblage, no councils; they are working against the intense hostility of all classes of the population, including the wealthy peasants,—with the imperialist bourgeoisie splendidly organized,—and yet the Germans are making some attempts at agitation; while we, with tens of papers, with freedom of assemblage, with the majority of the Council with us, we, the best situated of all the proletarian internationalists, can we refuse to support the German revolutionists in organizing a revolt?'

Thus the organizers themselves admit—I consider this very important—that the political conditions for the free activities of every political party are most perfect at present in Russia under the Provisional Government, at the head of which there is, in the opinion of that party, a usurper, a man who has sold himself to the bourgeoisie, the Minister Kerensky. I consider it necessary to point this out so that everybody may know clearly that in organizing a revolt under those conditions under which the German proletariat exists, that portion of the proletariat which is in sympathy with Lenine, which is not recognized by the entire country from the capitalists down to the peasants, which is not in a position to organize the movement, to prepare and direct the uprising, that is to disorganize the fighting capacity and the vitality of the country, consciously or unconsciously, —(Voices from the Right: "Consciously!") these organizers of the uprising do not help the proletariat of Germany, they only play into the hands of the ruling classes of Germany and expose the Russian front to the mailed fist of Kaiser Wilhelm and his friends. (Prolonged applause from the Right, Center and partly from the Left.) It is immaterial to the Provisional Government whether this is being done deliberately or unconsciously, but at any rate, on this platform, fully realizing my responsibility, I accuse this political Party of treachery to the Russian State. In addition, I must say that attempts to undermine the organized movement of the free Russian people towards the Constituent Assembly are being made now, at the moment when the Provisional Government, after a whole series of preliminary measures, is considering, in its final form, the question regarding the temporary transfer of all land to the Land Committees until the Constituent Assembly is convoked, (Applause from the Left and the Center) at the time when, fulfilling the obligations it took upon itself, and in accordance with its convictions, despite all the difficulties that are being put before the Provisional Government in its inter-

national policy, due to the continued disorganization and demoralization of the Army aided by some advocates of immediate peace, the Provisional Government has been planning in the course of a few days to send its delegation to the Paris Conference in order to put the question and call the attention of the Allies to the necessity for decisively and definitely formulating the aims and problems of the war, and to the question of bringing a speedy end to it, i. e., the question of peace. (Applause from the Left and from the Center.)

If you will take into consideration that all this is happening less than three weeks before the elections to the Constituent Assembly, that is, three weeks before the moment when the main obligation of the Provisional Government and of the Revolutionary Democracy—the obligation mutually undertaken on the 12th of March—to lead the country to the Constituent Assembly, the one authorized organ for expressing the people's will,—if you will consider that the attempt to overthrow the existing form of government is being made three weeks before the elections to the Constituent Assembly, you will see what are the actual aims and motives of the real enemies of the people and the enemies of Russian liberty. (Applause in the Center.)

Thus, after this kind of open preliminary activities and revolutionary propaganda, the said group, calling itself Bolsheviki, has started carrying its propaganda into action. For instance, three days ago the troops of the Petrograd District received circulars ordering them not to obey their officers or any military authorities unless the orders received bore the signature of the commissaries of the Petrograd Revolutionary Staff. This was done at a time when there were in the Army and in the Petrograd garrison commissaries with their assistants, appointed by the Provisional Government, and with the approval of the Executive Committee. The military authorities could not recognize this action. Moreover, they considered this act of the revolutionary staff criminal, (Voices from the Right: "Correct!") and they therefore immediately demanded that this order be rescinded and that the offenders recognize that no one may give orders to the troops except the legally appointed authorities, and that the commissaries of the Provisional Government, whose duty it is to supervise the political acts of the military officers, be informed about it.

I must say that the Executive Committee of the Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates has also taken the same stand on the question, considering this act of the revolutionary staff impermissible, but even here the military authorities, following my directions, although there was every reason for immediate, decisive and energetic action, thought it necessary to first give these people an opportunity to admit their voluntary or involuntary mistake, and gave them time to deliberately and freely retract their statements if there were a mistake. I generally prefer that the authorities act slowly but surely, and when necessary in a decisive manner." (Applause from the Left. Shouts of approval from the Right.)

Notwithstanding all the attempts to prevent the open uprising with all its consequences menacing not the leaders, who are accustomed to and who have a wonderful capacity for hiding themselves, (Applause from the Right.) but the masses they are leading, who will have to shoulder the full responsibility; despite much talking, all the persuading and offers by one social organization after another, and especially the very convincing statement made here yesterday by the delegates from the front, we did not receive, on the appointed date, any statement regarding the withdrawal of the order given. We were informed at three o'clock at night, that all the points which the military authorities presented as an ultimatum were as a matter of principle acceptable. Thus, at 3 A. M., the instigators of the insurrection were compelled to formally admit that they had committed an illegal act which they wish to retract." (Miliukoff from his seat: "Quite original!")

But as I expected and as I was sure, judging from the past policy of this group, this was a deliberate lie calculated to gain time. The time set for this purpose has passed, and we have not observed the condition which was supposed to be created among the troops, but we notice a contrary movement—namely, the unauthorized distribution of cartridges and ammunition and also the calling out of two divisions to help this revolutionary staff. Thus, before the Preliminary Parliament I must state that a certain part of the population of Petrograd is now in a state of insurrection. (Remarks from the Right: "Is that what we have come to!") I have already proposed that a judicial investigation be started at once. (A noise.) I have ordered that arrests be made." (Disturbance on the extreme Left.)

CHAPTER XVII

Russia under the Rule of the Bolsheviki

THE Preliminary Parliament answered Kerensky's last appeal by a vote of confidence passed by the small majority of 123 to 102, with twenty-six members refraining from voting and many absent. The Bolsheviki coup d'etat was approaching, and on November 7, 1917 the Petrograd garrison, in part joining the Bolsheviki and in part indifferent, worn out by the continued political restlessness, made it possible for the Bolshevist organization, the Military-Revolutionary Committee, to occupy the main governmental buildings and to arrest the members of the Provisional Government in the Winter Palace. A. F. Kerensky, escaping arrest, tried to organize the loyal forces against the Bolsheviki but, supported only by a few Cossack regiments, almost without any supplies, could not succeed against the many Bolsheviki regiments with unlimited supplies of ammunition from Petrograd.

The Provisional Government was overthrown. The Bolsheviki organized their own Cabinet, with Nicholas Lenine as Premier and Leon Trotsky—Minister of Foreign Affairs. The inevitability of their coming to power became evident almost immediately after the March Revolution. The history of the Bolsheviki, after the Revolution, was a history of their steady growth. When Lenine appeared in Russia in March, 1917, it seemed that he, with his extravagant ideas, had hardly any following in the country. The situation has changed since then. At the time of the revolt, in November, the Bolsheviki controlled the Petrograd, Moscow and many provincial Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. Their growth can be well explained by the difficult economic and cultural conditions in which the country found itself immediately after the Revolution.

The term, Bolsheviki, was used for the first time in 1903, when the Russian Social-Democratic Party split in two, and the majority, led by Lenine, adopted this name.* Until the

*The term "Bolsheviki" is derived from the Russian word "bolshinstvo," which means "the majority."

present war the Bolsheviki represented a part of the Russian Social-Democratic Party and were recognized as Socialists of the Marxian school, differing from other Social-Democrats only on questions of tactics.

The war has changed Lenine and his following remarkably. When Lenine arrived in Petrograd, in March, 1917, and made his first speech, one of the prominent Russian Socialists told him that the point of view he, Lenine, represents, has nothing to do with Socialism, and is a pure expression of anarchistic ideology. This really describes "Bolshevism," and explains its power in Russia. The Bolsheviki are anarchists, not so mush in theory as in their political practice. The ground for anarchy was fertile in Russia, and herein lay the success of the Bolsheviki.

The sufferings of all the countries involved in the present conflict are enormous, but probably it is safe to say that, aside from Belgium, no country has suffered so much as Russia. To the sufferings usually imposed by war were added the terrible crimes of the old régime. If monarchy in Russia had died thirteen years ago, during the first Revolution, it would have been a natural death, and both sides would have gained by it. The monarchic system decaying, during the past two decades, poisoned all the atmosphere around it.

The old régime, having degenerated to such figures as Soukhomlinoff, Rasputin and Protopopoff, came to an end, leaving the country in a state of such disorganization that no government in the world could have guided it through the enormous difficulties better than the Provisional Government did. The disorganization of transportation brought hunger and cold to the Russian cities and created an atmosphere in which every kind of anarchistic agitation could be successful. Lenine and his followers, with their slogan of immediate peace, with their hatred for the wealthy classes, with their plans for the dictatorship of the laboring class, naturally could appeal more to the suffering, comparatively uneducated Russian masses, already exhausted by the war and the crimes committed against them by the old régime, than the arguments of Socialist leaders like Kerensky and Tseretelli, who appealed

to the masses to stay in the war, and, if necessary, suffer more and more for the freedom of the country and the great cause of the world's Democracy.

The responsible leaders of the Russian Democracy saw clearly that the Bolsheviki would bring Russia not to an immediate, general, democratic peace, but to a shameful separate peace which would deprive Russia of her best territories and lay open the Western Democracies to an immediate German offensive. They were able to foresee what Germany would do to Russia helpless because of the disintegration of her Army, and to the Allies by bringing to the West most of the hundred forty-seven German and Austrian divisions, about two and a half million men, held on the Russian front up to the moment of the Bolsheviki revolt. They could foresee that the Bolsheviki rule would bring Russia and the newly-won liberty to ruin, but, unfortunately, they could not prevent it.

In the Russian Revolution of 1917 the Bolsheviki have played the same fatal role they played in the Revolution of 1905. Thirteen years ago, the Russian people, after the unfortunate war with Japan, made the first attack upon the old autocratic Government. There were moments then when it seemed as if final victory would rest with the people. Such a moment was that of October 30, 1905, when the Tzar, in a solemn Manifesto, granted political freedom to the people and promised that in the future no law would be forced on Russia without the consent of the Duma. Another such moment was when the First Duma, in May, 1906, presented the Tzar with an address demanding liberal reforms and the creation of a responsible cabinet. The old Government tottered then, and opened parleys with the leaders of the Duma through General Trepov.

It is probable that if the first Russian Revolution had been successful, and Russia had become a free country in 1905, then, nine years later, in 1914, free Russia would have been so strong, and the union of free Russia with the democracies of France and England would have appeared so natural, that the German militarists would have hesitated long before trying to fight such a powerful combination.

Unfortunately two factors destroyed the Russian Revolution of 1905. First, the ruling class, which did not understand the signs of the time, did not understand the necessity for making sincere concessions to the people. The second factor which destroyed the Revolution of 1905 was the Bolsheviki. Lenine then, as now, was their leader. While the Revolution could succeed only as a national revolution, through the unity of all of Russia's progressive forces, Lenine, in 1905, did everything in his power to destroy the united front of the Russian Democracy. Under his influence the Socialist factions boycotted the elections to the First Duma. When the Duma was convoked, with the Constitutional-Democrats in control, the Bolsheviki did everything to discredit the Duma as a "bourgeois" institution. It must be remembered that this was at the moment when the Duma, in the name of the people, had presented the Tzar's Government with demands for liberal reforms and a responsible cabinet. The old bureacracy got a great deal of comfort from the Bolsheviki's attacks on the Duma at that critical moment.

Posing as extreme revolutionists, the Bolsheviki, in 1905, destroyed the Russian Revolution by breaking up the unity of the progressive forces in the country. Trotsky did not formally belong to the Bolsheviki then, but his superficial mind had then already formulated the theory of a "permanent revolution," a theory typical of a fanatic, so concentrated on his one aim that he cannot see anything outside it.

The activities of the Bolsheviki in the period of the dark reaction, between the first and the second Revolution, were very much along these same lines. Among the most prominent leaders of the Bolsheviki, during this period, was Roman Malinovsky, a deputy of the Fourth Duma. While there was a steady endeavor to unite all the progressive forces of Russia in the demand for liberal reforms, Malinovsky was making one speech after another, accusing, in the name of the proletariat, all the liberal factions of the Duma. His hatred for the "bourgeoisie" was such a passion that he found "bourgeoisie" even in the Social-Democratic Faction of the Duma, which he led. There were then thirteen Social-Democratic deputies in

the Duma, and Malinovsky split this little faction in two, leading the Bolsheviki part of it, six in number.

The finale of this story was most unexpected. Mr. Malinovsky, the uncompromising leader of the proletariat, it was discovered, was a secret agent of the Tzar's Police Department, and all his speeches against the "bourgeoisie" had been prepared in the Department of Police, by the former Director of the Department, Mr. Beletzky. It is interesting to add that Malinovsky was a personal friend of Lenine, who called him "the Russian Bebel" and had proposed him for membership in the International Socialist Bureau. Were it not for the discovery that Malinovsky was a secret agent of the Tzar's Government, this gentleman, through Lenine's recommendation, would have sat in the Bureau with Jaurez and Vandervelde.

Posing as ultra-revolutionists, the Bolsheviki, helped, knowingly or unknowingly, the Russian autocracy in her fight against Russian democracy. Posing later as ultra-pacifists, the Bolsheviki helped, de facto, the German militarists, and, by destroying the Russian Army, have betrayed Russia and prolonged the terrible struggle, probably, for several years.

Nicholas Lenine and his following is only a shadow of Nicholas Romanoff and his régime. The tyranny reestablished in Russia by the new Nicholas III is probably worse than the tyranny of Nicholas II. While proclaiming that they revolted against the "tyrannic régime" of Kerensky, the Bolsheviki, themselves, have established a tyranny unknown even under the Tzar's Government. They have suppressed the liberal and, partially, the Socialist press. They have arrested prominent liberal and revolutionary leaders,—among the latter such men as Bourtzev and Avksentiev,—they have dissolved the municipal councils of Petrograd, Moscow, Nizhni-Novgorod and other cities, the councils elected by the entire population of the cities, according to the new law of universal suffrage.

Even the Tzar's Government respected the principle of parliamentary immunity, and although many of the members of the First Duma and the members of the Social-Democratic

Faction of the Second Duma were arrested by the Government, they were arrested after the Dumas had been legitimately dissolved. When the Tzar's Government dared to arrest and try five Socialist members of the Fourth Duma, while the Duma was still sitting, there was an outcry of indignation in the country and bitter feeling against the Government even among the conservative elements.

The Bolsheviki are free from any kind of "sentimentality." They have adopted the German motto "Might is Right." They dared to declare, with unprecedented cynicism, that the Constituent Assembly, the realization of the sacred hope of generations of Russian revolutionists who have died for it in prison cells, in fortresses and in the tundras of Siberia, that the Constituent Assembly would be "illegal" if the majority proved to be against the Bolsheviki. They knew that the majority of the Assembly would assuredly be against them, in spite of the fact that they used, during the elections, every means to terrorize the Russian citizens and to falsify their will. They knew that the unfortunate country, prostrated by the three and a half years of bleeding and by the terrible crimes committed against her, would never surrender to the Bolsheviki and would fight them through her legitimate representatives in the Constituent Assembly. Therefore, they prevented the meetings of the Assembly by armed force, arrested such prominent members of the Assembly as Prince P. D. Dolgorukov, F. F. Kokoshkin and A. I. Shingariev,* and finally dispersed the Assembly with bayonets.

The foreign policy of the Bolsheviki brought Russia to the Brest-Litovsk "peace," according to which Russia lost 780,000 square kilometers of territory, with 56,000,000 inhabitants, or over 30 per cent. of her entire population. She lost one-third of her total mileage of railways, amounting to 21,530 kilometers (13,350 miles), seventy-three per cent. of her total

*F. F. Kokoshkin and A. I. Shingariev were shot by the Red Guards in the Naval Hospital in Petrograd immediately after the dispersing of the Constituent Assembly.

iron production and eighty-nine per cent. of her total coal production.*

The internal policy of the Bolsheviki resulted, as might have been foreseen, in the utmost disorganization of the country's industries, transportation and finance. The terrorizing of the industrial class, and the "workingmen's control" established in the factories destroyed even the best established industrial enterprises. The output of raw materials and fuel steadily decreased and this, together with the utmost disorganization of transportation,† has stopped the work of even those industrial enterprises where the workingmen were anxious to continue working. What is left of the country after the Brest-Litovsk treaty is divided practically into tens of separate states, isolated from one another. Hunger rages through entire provinces, epidemics are appearing here and there, menacing, under the present conditions, the existence of millions.

However, all this does not mean that Russia is dead. It only means that the unfortunate country, after sacrificing millions of lives in war with Germany, must sacrifice further millions in her internal crisis and reconstruction. Russia's fate is not yet decided. It depends upon the material help she will get from the Allies at this critical moment and upon the outcome of the war. If Russia will be saved from foreign domination, she will finally find in herself sufficient strength to organize herself in a stable Democracy, the existence of which will prove a blessing to the entire world.

---

*In addition Russia lost 268 sugar refineries, 918 textile factories, 574 breweries, 133 tobacco factories, 1,685 distilleries, 244 chemical factories, 615 paper mills and 1,073 machine factories. These data were made public by the Bolshevist Commissaire of Commerce and were transmitted to this country in an Associated Press dispatch from Petrograd on April 10, 1918.

†According to Louis Edgar Browne's cable from Petrograd, on April 4, 1918, to the New York "Globe," the decrease of efficiency in the Russian railroads has been especially striking since October, 1917. In that month it dropped 34 per cent., in November—45 per cent., in December—70 per cent., and in January—80 per cent. Mr. Browne mentions that he quotes the official Russian statistics.

IT may be stated that in November, 1917, at the moment of the revolt, the Bolsheviki had arrayed against them the overwhelming majority of the Russian people, not only the middle-class, but the Revolutionary Democracy as well. The Bolsheviki were able to seize the governmental power, with the help of comparatively small detachments of soldiers and sailors, only because their opponents were passive and the country in general tired, worn out and temporarily indifferent to almost any political changes.

The Bolsheviki like to pose as the representatives of the laboring masses. But, the Russian peasantry, which represents about 85 per cent. of Russia's entire population and consists, almost without exception, of tillers of the soil, repudiated the Bolsheviki at the very moment of their revolt, repudiated them later through the Constituent Assembly, and continues to repudiate them.

On November 2, 1917, that is, five days before the Bolsheviki revolt, the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Council of Peasants' Delegates issued the following manifesto:

"Comrades, brothers in suffering and travail, workers and soldiers! People who do not realize sufficiently well the consequences of their actions, and the dark forces, pursuing their own criminal ends, call upon you to go out into the street and by force of arms overthrow the Provisional Government and usurp governmental power. These people are not satisfied with the eight hundred innocent victims, of the civilian population, the fathers and mothers who perished recklessly and uselessly in the days of the first demonstration, on July 16-18. These victims have not yet been forgotten by their relatives. The mothers who lost their children and the children who lost their parents in those days of terror and insanity have not yet ceased deploring their losses. And now they are preparing for us another civil war, just as senseless and mad as the first one.

And all this is being done only a little over a month before the opening of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, which alone will have the right to solve the question of government, for its members will be elected by the entire population, both men and women, in the most democratic way, and will therefore represent the true voice and will of the Russian people.

You are being called upon to take part in a civil war at a moment when the true fighters for Land and Liberty, for the freedom and happiness of the laboring masses, should not be losing time, but be

even now taking a most active part in the electoral campaign for the purpose of sending to the Constituent Assembly the greatest possible number of genuine champions of the interests of labor. You are called upon to wage civil war at a time when the cruel foe is constantly tearing off new portions of our land, is threatening our Capital, menacing our liberty and all that which the toilers have already won and that which they are bound to win in the near future, while millions of our brothers in German captivity are being starved to death or exhausted by hard labor, their bones covering all Germany.

Instead of calling you to defend your country against the hordes of the German Emperor, who are destroying our soldiers, like insects, with asphyxiating gases, who are employing every device invented by man for the destruction of his kind against those who are defending our country; instead of calling you to defend yourself against the enemy, at the head of whose forces you find Kaiser Wilhelm and the Russian landed aristocrats—the greatest enemies of all liberty; instead of calling you to defend all the rights of the laboring masses of all countries, instead of this, you are called upon to fight your own brothers.

One may make all kinds of sacrifices in the defense of the workingmen and the oppressed, but what useful purpose will this bloodshed serve, of what avail will these sacrifices be! Russia is now the most democratic country in the world. As a matter of fact, all power is now in the hands of the people, and in the ranks of the Provisional Government we see people who have proven their devotion to the cause of the working people through the long years spent in prison and in exile, during the Tzar's régime.

If we allow the usurpation of power in Petrograd by force, we set a precedent for all those who will have the opportunity to do likewise in other parts of the country. There is the danger that in some sections the adherents of the old régime, the opponents of "Land and Freedom," will be stronger, and then our country, torn asunder by civil strife and anarchy, and stripped of parts by the foreign foe, will face disruption.

Comrades, brothers, workmen and soldiers! In the name of the many millions of peasants throughout the country, we appeal to you not to yield to the thoughtless and criminal agitation which will be merely playing into the hands of the enemy of the laboring class and the enemy of the country, who will take advantage of our civil war. We appeal to you not to start this fratricidal war, not to shed the blood of innocent people, but to save your strength for the struggle against the foreign foe, and to leave it to the Constituent Assembly to decide the question of government.

The country demands this of you; this is the demand that would

emanate from a correct understanding of the interests of the workingmen and peasants.

Remember your responsibility to the country, to the toilers who may lose the land in civil strife, remember your duty to those who are dearest to you, remember your duties to your own conscience and to the future generations."

On November 8, immediately after the Bolsheviki revolt, the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Council of Peasants' Delegates issued another manifesto:

"Comrades! All the liberties secured at the expense of the blood of your sons and your brothers are now in great, mortal danger!

The Revolution is perishing! The country is on the verge of ruin!

The blood of our brothers has again been shed on the streets of Petrograd. Again the entire country is thrown into the abyss of discord and disruption. Again the Army, which has been defending the country and the Revolution from the foreign foe, is being stabbed in the back.

On the 7th of November the Bolshevik faction of the Social-Democratic Party and the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, under the guidance of that faction, usurped power, and after having subjected the Winter Palace to a fusillade, they have arrested the Provisional Government and the Socialist Ministers, among them two members of the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Council of Peasants' Delegates, S. L. Maslov and S. S. Salazkin, thrust them into the Fortress of St. Peter and Paul, and disbanded by armed force the Preliminary Parliament elected to supervise the work of the Provisional Government until the Constituent Assembly convenes. Finally, they have declared A. F. Kerensky, the Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the Army, an offender against the State.

Innumerable are the disasters which this outbreak spells for Russia, formidable is the crime against the people and the Revolution on the part of those who have started the uprising and sown discord in the country. In the first place, they are causing a split in the ranks of the working people and are thus facilitating for the foreign foe the work of completely devastating and enslaving our country.

The blow they have dealt the Army is the first and the gravest crime of the Bolsheviki.

Their second crime consists in starting a civil war and usurping power at the very moment when the Provisional Government, obeying the will of the peasants, was completing the draft of the law regarding the transfer of all land to the land committees, and at a time when only three weeks remained before the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, the only authorized ruling body of Russia. They are deceiving the country by calling the Congress of Councils in Petro-

grad, the voice of the entire people; the voice of the Democracy, despite the fact that all the representatives from the Front, from the Socialist parties and from the Councils of Peasants' Delegates have left it. Taking advantage of the presence of a few peasants who came to the Congress in violation of the decision of the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Council of Peasants' Delegates and of the provincial Councils of Peasants' Delegates, they have the audacity to tell us that they have the support of the Councils of Peasants' Delegates. Without any authority they dare to speak in the name of the Councils of Peasants' Delegates. Let all the laboring masses of Russia know that this is a lie, and that all the peasants, the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Council of Peasants' Delegates, indignantly repudiate all claims regarding the participation of the organized peasantry in this criminal violation of the will of the working people.

The Bolsheviki are promising the people immediate peace, bread, land and liberty. What a lie and a sham—all these promises calculated to win the masses, who are worn out and do not understand clearly the situation! Not peace, but slavery is before them. Not bread, land and freedom, but civil war, bloodshed, loss of land and the triumph of the knout will they bring, by increasing the chaos and making it easier for the dark forces to restore the accursed régime of the Tzar.

Believing that the coup d'etat which has just taken place is menacing the country and the Army with immediate disaster and will delay the convoking of the Constituent Assembly while those in power are unable to establish a government that will be recognized by all the people, the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Council of Peasants' Delegates considers it its sacred duty towards the country to proclaim that it does not recognize the new Bolsheviki rule as the government of Russia, and appeals to the local Councils of Peasants' Delegates and to the Army not to yield to the usurpers, but at the same time to observe order and guard the country against the enemy. The Executive Committee of the All-Russian Council of Peasants' Delegates has before it the following tasks:

1. The formation of a government universally recognized and capable of leading the country to a state where the Constituent Assembly can be convoked.

2. The calling of the Constituent Assembly without changing the election laws.

3. The turning over of all land to the land committees."

The Central Committee of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, which may be considered the party of the Russian

peasantry, adopted the following resolution immediately after the Bolsheviki revolt:

"All those members of the Party who have taken part in the Bolshevist adventure and have not left the Congress of Councils after the fusillade opened against the Winter Palace, the arrest of the Party members and other acts of violence committed by the Military-Revolutionary Committee against the Democracy—are hereby expelled from the Party for gross violation of Party discipline."

On November 10, three days after the Bolsheviki revolt, the Central Committee of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists issued the following proclamation:

"Comrades, workingmen, peasants, soldiers and sailors!

You have been deceived in the basest, most scoundrel-like manner. Power has been usurped by the Bolsheviki alone. They, the Bolsheviki, have misused the name of the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates because they kept their plan secret from the other Socialist Parties represented in the Council.

The usurpation of power has occurred three weeks before the opening of the Constituent Assembly, one day before the meeting of the All-Russian Congress of Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

The Congress of Councils which, after its opening, recognized the coup d'etat that has taken place, had no authority, inasmuch as the representatives of all the Socialist Parties and all the Delegates from the Front had left it and there remained only the Bolsheviki and the Maximalist faction of the Socialists-Revolutionists, who form the tail end of the Bolsheviki movement.

The voice of the toiling peasantry was unheeded. The Peasants' Councils refused to come to the Congress of Councils because they were busy with the elections to the Constituent Assembly. The Executive Committee of the All-Russian Councils of Peasants' Delegates has voiced its protest against the madness of the Bolsheviki. The Bolsheviki have confiscated issue No. 147 of the 'News of the All-Russian Council of Peasants' Delegates,' and have shut down the printing shop, thus stifling with their gendarme hand the free voice of the peasants.

They have promised you bread. But there will be no bread. The Bolsheviki revolt will completely disorganize the railroads, and the transportation of bread has been attended with difficulties even before their revolt.

The mere fact that power is in the hands of the Bolsheviki will not produce any new locomotives or cars, will not increase the output of coal, and through the civil war which the Bolsheviki have provoked on the eve of the Constituent Assembly and through their shat-

tering the entire apparatus of State, we shall remain entirely without railroads and without coal.

Because of the disorganization of the life of the State the banks are compelled to suspend their operations. There will be no money. You will get no wages and no salaries.

The Bolsheviki are leading you to the point where the mills and factories will close down, and unemployment, starvation and death will follow.

They have promised you immediate peace and they have given you a new resolution which everybody ignores—our foes as well as our Allies. The foreign Embassies are leaving. The Bolsheviki have put the Allies in a position where they will be able to conclude peace with Germany at the expense of Russia.

They have promised you a separate peace, but instead of this they are giving you a new and more difficult war at the Front and a new civil war within the country.

They have promised you land and liberty, but the counter-revolutionary forces will make use of the anarchy created by the Bolsheviki to deprive you of both land and liberty.

The resolution of the Bolsheviki Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates in regard to the usurpation of power by the Bolsheviki contains no mention of the Constituent Assembly.

You were on the eve of the Constituent Assembly—the Bolsheviki have postponed it.

The only way to suppress the anarchy and the counter-revolution, already jubilant, is to form a new democratic and revolutionary government which will be recognized by the entire country.

Join hands with the All-Russian Committee for the Salvation of the Country and the Revolution, unite with the Socialist Parties! They will create a new, united revolutionary and democratic government, and this government will at once transfer all land to the land committee, will offer all the belligerent countries a democratic peace, will suppress the anarchy and the counter-revolution and will bring the country to the Constituent Assembly.

Comrades, workingmen, peasants, soldiers and sailors!

You have been deceived in the basest, most scoundrel-like manner.

Do not listen to the Bolsheviki, leave that band alone, and their revolt will end immediately, without any bloodshed."

The most representative leaders of the Social-Democratic Party, George Plekhanov, I. G. Tseretelli, P. Maslov and even the "internationalist," Martov, took the stand of immediate and strong opposition to the Bolshevist adventure. The Petrograd Committee of the Social-Democratic Party issued the following appeal:

"Comrades, soldiers, workingmen, and fellow-citizens,—all those who are faithful to the cause of the Revolution:

A crime has been committed. The Bolsheviki have misled and confused the uninformed masses of the soldiers and workingmen. At a moment of terrible danger to our country they have started civil strife and have raised their sword against the Provisional Government established by the people. With the arrogance and rudeness of the former Tzar's police, they forced themselves into the hall where the Preliminary Parliament was in session, took possession of the building, insulted the old, veteran fighters against the Tzar's régime, insulted our comrades and Socialists. On the night of the 8th of November they attacked the Winter Palace in a true highway-robber fashion, brutally slew the guard doing their duty by the people and the Republic, and arrested several members of the Cabinet responsible to the people.

In the face of the enemy, the Kaiser and the Black Hundred, they are rending our country and our liberty into shreds.

They do this on the eve of the Constituent Assembly! They treacherously thrust their knife into the back of the Army, bleeding at the Front.

Save the Revolution!

Save the Republic!

Remember, hunger will crush Petrograd, the German Armies will trample upon our liberties, the Black Hundred will flood the country with massacres, if we, the politically conscious workmen, soldiers and citizens, do not unite, and after having restored the Provisional Government of the Revolution, defend it with all our might.

Do not trust the promises of the Bolsheviki! The promise of an immediate peace is a lie,—Lenine has already admitted that. The promise of bread is a fraud. The promise of order, the promise of land is a fairy tale!

Go and explain to the ignorant, deceived masses that their mad revolt brings with it horror, destruction, decades of poverty and slavery!

Save the Republic before it is too late!"

While the elder generations of the Russian "intelligentsia," active participants in the political organizations, expressed their sentiments regarding the crisis in the above-given resolutions, the younger generation expressed themselves in the following appeal signed by the students of the Petrograd Institute of Mining Engineers, the Electrotechnic Institute, the Women's Polytechnic School, the College of Natural Science, the Women's College of Philology, the Mili-

tary-Medical Academy, the Institute of History and Philology, the Academy of Theology, the Bestouzhev University, the Conservatory of Music, the Women's Pedagogical Institute, the Academy of Art and the Institute of Ways of Communication:

"Citizens! People! At this terrible hour when the foreign foe is menacing the existence of our country and black anarchy is shrouding Russia, when the supreme power has been usurped through violence and deceit by a handful of adventurers, at this terrible hour the students of Petrograd are appealing to you, people of Russia.

Enough of blood, enough of violence and strife!

Long live law and order!

Let us have peace among ourselves!

The people are the only masters of the country. The only body representative of the people is the Constituent Assembly. Now then, go to the elections and say your decisive word about peace and land, about the laws of the country.

But under the present conditions, when despotism and violence are reigning supreme, lawful elections are impossible.

A group of madmen, backed by the bayonets of ignorant people, are stifling freedom of speech. The press is muzzled. Freedom of speech is destroyed. A foul deal is in store for all who disagree with the usurpers. And we who have always fought for the people's liberty, call upon you to unite in defense of the rights of citizens, which are being trampled upon.

Comrades, soldiers and workmen! Remember that many of us died in 1905-1906, together with you on the scaffold, in the dungeons, in exile and at the hands of the police.

Side by side with you we fought, in March, for the freedom of our people.

Together with you, on the Field of Mars, we paid homage to the heroes who died in the fight for liberty.

Remember, the country is bleeding to death. Numerous treasures, the property of the people, which it took centuries to gather, are now being mutilated beyond repair.

And so we appeal to you. Help the country. Demand, together with us, freedom of speech and of the press. Safeguard the lawful elections to the Constituent Assembly. Clear the way for the real representatives of the people. And may they restore the past glory of the Russian people!"

On November 21, two weeks after the Bolsheviki revolt, Maxim Gorky, who at one time had been quite sympathetic towards the Bolsheviki, wrote as follows in his paper, "Novaya

Zhizn" (The New Life), expressing the sentiment of the Russian intelligentsia:

"Blind fanatics and unscrupulous adventurers are rushing headlong towards 'social revolution'—as a matter of fact it is the road to anarchy, the ruin of the proletariat and the Revolution.

Along this road Lenine and his aides think it possible to commit all crimes, such as the bloody fight in Petrograd, the devastation of Moscow, the annulment of freedom of speech, the senseless arrests,—all the monstrous doings of von Plehve and Stolypin.*

True, Stolypin and von Plehve acted against the Democracy, against all that was sound and honest in Russia, while Lenine has at present the backing of a considerable portion of the workmen, but I trust that the common sense of the working class, the realization of their historical mission will soon open their eyes to the impossibility of fulfilling the promises made by Lenine and the depth of his madness and his anarchistic tendencies, of the Bakunin and Nechaev kind.

The working class cannot fail to realize that Lenine is experimenting with its blood, and trying to strain the revolutionary mood of the proletariat to the limit, to see what the outcome will be.

Of course, under the existing circumstances, he does not believe in the possibility of a victory for the proletariat of Russia, but perhaps he hopes that a miracle will save the proletariat.

The workingman must know that there really are no miracles, and that he will have to confront hunger, complete disorganization of industry and transportation, prolonged and bloody anarchy followed by reaction no less sanguinary and dark.

That is where the proletariat is being led by its present leader, and one must understand that Lenine is not an all-powerful magician, but a deliberate juggler, who has no feeling either for the lives or the honor of the proletariat.

The working class must not allow adventurers and madmen to thrust upon the proletariat the responsibility for the disgraceful, senseless and bloody crimes for which not Lenine, but the proletariat will have to account."

ON November 7th the Bolsheviki seized governmental power in Petrograd, and later in Moscow and many provincial cities, in spite of the opposition of the overwhelming majority of the Russian people who, notwithstanding all the pressure exercised by the Bolsheviki, voted against them in the elections to the Constituent Assembly.

*Reactionary Ministers of the old régime.

Nobody can elucidate the ideology of Bolshevism better than Lenine, himself, has in his pamphlet dealing with the political parties in Russia. We will quote from the pamphlet, permitting ourselves a few words of comment at the end.

Lenine, on the Political Parties in Russia

What are the chief groupings of political parties in Russia?

(a) Parties and groups more *right,* more conservative than the Constitutional Democrats.

(b) Constitutional-Democratic Party (Cadets, the National Liberty Party) and the groups closely attached to them.

(c) Social-Democrats, Socialists-Revolutionists and the groups closely attached to them.

(d) Bolsheviki: The party which ought properly to be called the *Communistic Party.*

What classes do these parties represent? What class standpoints do they express?

(a) The feudal landholders and the more backward sections of the bourgeoisie.

(b) The mass of the bourgeoisie, that is, the capitalists, and those landholders who have the industrial, bourgeois ideology.

(c) Small entrepreneurs, small and middle-class proprietors, small and more or less well-to-do peasants, petite bourgeoisie, as well as those workers who have submitted to a bourgeois point of view.

(d) Class-conscious workers, day laborers and the poorer classes of the peasantry, who are classed with them (semi-proletariat).

What is their relation to Socialism?

(a and b) Unconditionally hostile, since it threatens the profits of capitalists and landholders.

(c) *For* Socialism, but it is too early as yet to think of it or to take any practical steps for its realization.

(d) *For* Socialism. The Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates must at once take every practical and feasible step for its realization.

What form of government do they want now?

(a) Constitutional Monarchy, absolute authority of the official class and the police.

(b) A bourgeois parliamentary republic, i. e., a perpetuation of the rule of the capitalists, with the retention of the official (chinovnik) class and the police.

(c) A bourgeois parliamentary republic, with reforms for the workingmen and peasants.

(d) A republic of the Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peas-

ants Delegates. Abolition of the standing army and the police; substituting for them an armed people; officials to be not only elected, but also subject to recall; their pay not to exceed that of a good workingman.

Shall a Constituent Assembly be called?

(a) Not necessary, for it might injure the landholders. Suppose the peasants at the Constituent Assembly should decide to take away the land of the landholders?

(b) Yes, but without stipulation of time. Furthermore, the learned professors should be consulted, first, because Bebel has already pointed out that jurists are the most reactionary people in the world; and second, because the experience of all revolutions shows that the cause of the people is lost when it is entrusted to the hands of professors.

(c) Yes, and as soon as possible. As to the time, we have already discussed it 200 times in the meetings of the "Advisory Commission," and shall definitely dispose of it in our 201st discussion to-morrow.

(d) Yes, and as soon as possible. Yet, to be successful and to be really convoked, one condition is necessary: increase the number and strengthen the *power* of the Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates; organize and *arm* the masses. Only thus can the Assembly be assured.

In favor of this war or against it?

(a and b) Unquestionably in favor, for it brings in unheard-of profits to the capitalists and promises to perpetuate their rule, thanks to dissension among the workingmen, who are egged on against each other. The workingmen must be deceived by calling the war a war for national defense, with the special object of dethroning Wilhelm.

(c) In general, we are opposed to imperialistic wars, but we are willing to permit ourselves to be fooled, and to call this a war of "revolutionary defense," and to support an imperialistic war waged by the imperialistic government of Guchkov, Miliukov & Co.

(d) Absolutely opposed to all imperialistic wars, to all bourgeois governments which wage them, among them our own Provisional Government; absolutely opposed to "revolutionary defense" of Russia.

Must officers be elected by the soldiers?

(a and b) No, it would be bad for the landholders and capitalists. If the soldiers cannot be otherwise contented, we must promise them this reform and afterwards take it away from them.

(c) Yes.

(d) Not only elected, but every step of every officer and general must be subject to the control of special soldiers' committees.

Must the fraternization between soldiers of the warring countries, at the front, be encouraged?

(a and b) No; it is bad for the interests of the landholders and

capitalists, since it may accelerate the liberation of humanity from their yoke.

(c) Yes, it would be good. But we are not fully convinced that such an encouragement of fraternization should be at once undertaken in all warring countries.

(d) Yes; it is good and indispensable. It is absolutely necessary in all countries at war to encourage all attempts at fraternization between the soldiers of *both* warring groups.

This document is interesting as reflecting the very soul of Bolshevism. It is an extremely hypocritical soul. According to Lenine, the Constituent Assembly must be called "as soon as possible." The Bolsheviki had accused the Provisional Government more than once of delaying the Constituent Assembly. Later we will show that these accusations were without any foundation in fact. It was only natural that Lenine should make the same accusation in the pamphlet issued before the Bolsheviki came into power, and that he should state that the strengthening of the power of the Councils, the organizing and arming (!) of the masses was the only condition under which the Assembly could be "really convoked," that "only thus can the Assembly be assured."

Eventually the Constituent Assembly was convoked, and, because it was opposed to the Bolsheviki, Lenine dispersed it in a manner worse than the Tzar had employed in dispersing the Dumas which, representing the supreme will of the people, had demanded political and social reforms for the country.

According to the above-given excerpts from his pamphlet, Lenine is "absolutely opposed to 'revolutionary defense' of Russia." According to his views, the Army officers should "not only be elected but every step of every officer and general must be subject to the control of special soldiers' committees"; he thinks that "it is absolutely necessary in all countries at war to encourage all attempts at fraternization between the soldiers of both warring groups."

Now, when fraternization and the system of soldiers' control has brought the Russian Army to complete disintegration, and the enemy, in spite of the "peace," is moving deeper and deeper into the heart of the country, even the Bolsheviki are talking about the necessity for building a new Army

with the old, professional officers returned to their posts, with independence for the officers in the entire sphere of the military command, with the subordination of the Commanding Staff only to the Government of the country.

Discussing the relation of the different political parties to Socialism, Lenine declared that the Councils "must at once take every practical and feasible step for the realization of Socialism." Now, when the Bolsheviki kind of "realization" of Socialism has resulted in the utmost disorganization of Russia's industries, transportation and finance, the Bolsheviki begin to speak about the necessity for coöperating with the bourgeois elements.

Does it mean that the Bolsheviki, as a faction, have changed their mind, and from a destructive have become a constructive element in the country? No, unfortunately it does not. After realizing what their being in power has cost the country, do they endeavor to establish, instead of their tyranny, a democratic government which should include the best representatives of Russia's mind and statesmanship and be recognized by all classes? Do they call the Constituent Assembly, a body elected on the basis of the most democratic suffrage in the world, with soldiers and women participating in the elections?*

No, they do not. The great country is disintegrating, dying before their eyes; the Teutonic divisions, released from the Eastern Front, are endangering the Democracies of the West, and they, the new dark force in Russia's life, still cling to their power because the few ideas born of their minds are dearer to them than Russia's existence, even the world's existence. "Only the grave can make a hunchback straight," says a Russian proverb.

Russia or the Bolsheviki—that is the alternative. If the Bolsheviki remain in power another few months, little will be left of Russia. If the miracle of Russia's resurrection will occur, the Bolsheviki will have to disappear. The existence of one means the death of the other.

---

*The voting age was fixed at 20 for civilians of both sexes, and 18 years—for soldiers.

THE period of Bolshevism has brought to the fore, first of all, Russia's national problem. The separation of the Ukraine, and the peace concluded by the Ukraine with Germany and Austria brought the Ukrainian problem before the entire world. Unfortunately, we do not possess, at this moment, sufficient data to explain fully this episode in the relations of the Ukraine to Russia, but, one thing can be firmly established, that is, that the Ukrainian Rada, in its "Universal" of November 20, 1917, two weeks after the Bolsheviki revolt, declared the Ukraine still a part of the Russian Republic. Here is the first, general part of the "Universal":

"Ukrainian people and all peoples of the Ukraine! An hour of trials and difficulties has come for the Russian Republic. In the North, in the Capitals a bloody internecine struggle is in progress. A Central Government no longer exists, and anarchy, disorder and ruin are spreading throughout the State.

Our country also is in danger. Without a strong, united and popular Government, the Ukraine also may fall into the abyss of civil war, slaughter and destruction.

People of the Ukraine, you, together with the brother peoples of the Ukraine, have intrusted us with the task of protecting rights won by struggle, of creating order and of building up a new life in our land. And we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, by your will, for the sake of creating order in our country and for the sake of saving the whole of Russia, announce that henceforth the Ukraine becomes the Ukrainian National Republic. Without separating from the Russian Republic, we take our stand firmly on our lands that with our strength we may help the whole of Russia, and that the whole Russian Republic may become a federation of free and equal peoples.

Until the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly meets, the entire power of creating order in our lands, of issuing laws, and of ruling rests with us, the Ukrainian Central Rada, and with our Government—the General Secretariate of the Ukraine.

Having authority and power in our native land, we will defend the rights won by the Revolution, not only in our own lands, but in all Russia as well.

Therefore we announce: To the territory of the National Ukrainian Republic belong the lands the majority of the population of which is Ukrainian: Kiev, Podolia, Volhynia, Tchernigov, Poltava, Kharkov, Ekaterinoslav, Kherson, Tauris (without the Crimea). The further delimitation of the frontiers of the Ukrainian National Republic, viz., the addition of part of Kursk, Kholm, Voronezh and the neighboring provinces and districts, the majority of the population of which is

Ukrainian, is to be settled according to the organized wishes of the peoples."

The "Universal" proceeds by declaring abolished "the existing rights of ownership to the lands of large proprietors and other lands not worked by the owners"; it establishes an eight-hour day for all factories and workshops in the Ukrainian Republic; it abolishes the death penalty, confirms the civil liberties won by the Revolution, etc. The Rada was dominated by Socialists, and this is reflected in this historical document, but, the Socialists of the Rada did not agree very well with the Bolsheviki ruling in Petrograd, and the following passage from the "Universal" may explain, psychologically at least, the conflict between the Bolsheviki and the Rada:

"Citizens! In the name of the National Ukrainian Republic in federal Russia, we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, *call upon all to struggle resolutely with all forms of anarchy and disorder*, and to help in the great work of building up new State forms, which will give the great and powerful Russian Republic health, strength, and a new future. The working out of these forms must be carried out at the Ukrainian and All-Russian Constituent Assemblies."

The same Bolsheviki leaders who encouraged the Ukrainian movement, who proclaimed in one of their first acts that every nationality in Russia has the full right to immediate self-determination and even separation, the same Bolsheviki who recognized the Ukrainian delegation at the Brest-Litovsk Conference, proclaimed the Rada a bourgeois institution because it would not agree to go as far in the political and social experiments as the Bolsheviki desired to have it go. They started an immediate civil war in the Ukraine and frightened the Ukrainian people to such a degree that probably they were brought to prefer even the Germans to the Bolsheviki. In addition to the natural psychological processes which took place at that time and brought the Ukraine to a separate peace, there was, indeed, a great deal of German and Austrian propaganda which used every fanatical step of the Bolsheviki for the benefit of the Central Empires, very much generally interested in the disintegration of Russia, and at this time especially in the possibilities of obtaining the Ukrainian grain.

Whether the Ukraine will come back to Russia or not de-

pends very much upon the outcome of this war. The Ukraine is already having her lesson; notwithstanding the "peace," she feels the Prussian boot daily. If Russia will be saved from German domination, it is most probable that the Ukraine will come back.

There are probably reasons for believing in the existence of the Ukrainian culture, but this culture is so close to the culture of Great Russia that volumes are written with the special purpose of showing that there is a Ukrainian culture in existence. The Ukrainians are justly proud of their great poet, Shevchenko, but the Great Russians love him and consider him their own. On the other hand, the greatest writers of the Ukrainian nationality, Gogol and Korolenko, wrote in Russian and will live forever in the history of Russian literature and culture.

If the separatist movement in the Ukraine leaves anyone in doubt, and the final decision of the problem must be postponed, probably, until the end of the war, the "separatist" movement in Siberia and in the Caucasus does not warrant any doubts whatsoever. Both of these regions very definitely consider themselves parts of Russia, and if they now act independently from the center, it is because they do not recognize the rule of the Bolsheviki. Their hopes lean to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly which alone, in their opinion, is able to create a stable democratic government and has the right to define the limits of autonomy for the different parts of Russia.

THE period of Bolshevism also brought to the foreground the Cossack problem. The Cossacks have been and are almost the only power in Russia which has actually fought and continues to fight the Bolsheviki. The real nature of this Cossack movement is not altogether properly understood.

People in this country have been accustomed to consider the Cossacks a counter-revolutionary force. The ground for this presumption lay in the fact that the Tzar's Government had used the Cossacks extensively for suppressing revolution-

ary uprisings in Russia for the last two or three decades. It must be said, as a matter of fact, that the old Government sent against the revolutionists not only the Cossacks, but all other units of the Army as well. The entire Army, as long as the Tzar's Government was able to control it, was used as a counter-revolutionary force. The revolt in the Russian Fleet, in 1905 and 1906, was suppressed in part by the sailors who had not joined the Revolution, and partly by the artillery of the Fortresses of Kronstadt and Sveaborg. The famous revolutionary uprising in Moscow, in December, 1905, was suppressed by several regiments of infantry which came down from Petrograd.

On the other hand, there is a version that the Revolution in March, 1917, started, in Petrograd, after a Cossack shot a police officer who had just before killed a student for trying to make a revolutionary speech. And the Cossacks in Petrograd were the first military unit to join the Revolution. In the middle of June, 1917, the first All-Russian Cossack Congress met in Petrograd, and unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"The All-Russian Congress of Cossacks' Delegates has faith in the administrative genius of the Russian people, which more than once has manifested itself in the darkest moments of our national history. The Congress firmly believes that the Provisional Government, pursuing a domestic policy based on the consent of all the organized democratic forces, and a foreign policy in complete harmony with the Allies, will be able to guide Russia into the paths of liberty and democracy. The Cossacks of all Russia, inspired with a deep democratic spirit, are ready to render all their support to the Provisional Government in its work of eradicating anarchy, preventing counter-revolution, and safeguarding freedom of elections to the Constituent Assembly so that it may be a true expression of the popular will, and thus be instrumental in making Russia a true democracy."

The same Congress adopted the following resolution regarding Russia's future form of government:

"The All-Russian Congress of Cossacks' Delegates, having deliberated upon the question concerning the future form of the Russian Government, decides: Russia must be an undivided, democratic Republic with broad local autonomy."*

*See also General Kaledine's speech at the National Conference in Moscow. pp. 450-453.

In accordance with the spirit of the Cossack movement, the All-Russian Council of the Cossack Troops, on November 23, 1917, two weeks after the Bolsheviki revolt, adopted a political program according to which all privileges and restrictions based on class, caste, nationality or religion should be abolished. This program demands the inviolability of persons and homes, and freedom of thought, speech, the press and assemblage. Russia is to become a democratic, federated Republic, the constitution of which should be drawn up by the Constituent Assembly. The various nationalities and ethnographic groups should receive autonomy.

The Cossack movement is indeed an anti-Bolsheviki movement. But, to be against the Bolsheviki does not at all mean to be counter-revolutionary. In fact, the greatest Russian revolutionists, such leaders as Peter Kropotkin, E. C. Breshko-Breshkovskaya, George Plekhanov, V. M. Chernov, I. G. Tseretelli and many others are against the Bolsheviki. The Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, led by its Central Committee, is against the Bolsheviki. The Mensheviki part of the Russian Social-Democracy is also against the Bolsheviki.

A Russian revolutionist, worthy of the name, cannot but be against the Bolsheviki because, in spite of their revolutionary phraseology, the Bolsheviki, compromising the Revolution by extremism, are preparing the ground for reaction. Everyone who fights the Bolsheviki in the name of a stable democracy, everyone who looks forward to the Constituent Assembly as the only sovereign body able to decide the fundamental political and social problems facing Russia, is defending the Revolution and the liberties won by the Revolution. In that respect the Cossack movement is a sound, democratic movement, and as such will it be recognized by history.

DELAY in the convocation of the Constituent Assembly was one of the chief accusations of the Bolsheviki against the Provisional Government. We have already spoken and we will speak further about the Bolsheviki's relation to that sovereign body, but, first of all, we want to make it clear that the accusations against the Provisional Govern-

ment of delaying the Assembly were without any foundation in fact.

The Provisional Government, in its Manifesto to the nation, dated March 20, 1917, promised to convoke the Constituent Assembly "as soon as possible." The second Cabinet, organized after the resignation of Miliukov and Guchkov, repeated that promise. It was first necessary to organize a thoroughly representative commission to work out the election laws. Such a commission, because of the importance of its work, had to be, in itself, of the nature of a Constituent Assembly, and the parleys of the Provisional Government with all the Russian parties and nationalities naturally consumed time. On June 7, 1917, the sessions of the Commission for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly were opened by Prince G. E. Lvov, then Prime Minister, with F. F. Kokoshkin as Chairman.

The work of the Commission made it possible for the third Cabinet, organized after Prince Lvov's resignation, in its declaration of July 22, to designate September 30 as the day for the elections to the Constituent Assembly. This date was changed only once by the following decree, issued on August 22 and signed by Prime Minister Kerensky and Secretary of Justice Zarudny:

"Desiring to assure the convocation of the Constituent Assembly as soon as possible, the Provisional Government designated the 30th of September as election day, in which case the whole burden of making up the election lists must fall on the Municipalities and the newly elected Zemstvos. The enormous labor of holding the elections for the local institutions has taken time. At present, in view of the date of establishment of the local institutions, on the basis decreed by the Government,—direct, general, equal, and secret suffrage,—the Provisional Government has decided:

To set aside as the day for elections to the Constituent Assembly the 25th of November, of the year 1917, and as the date for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly the 12th of December, of the year 1917."*

*It may be added that a serious factor endangering the possibility of the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, even on the later date, was the strike in the paper industry, which, on October 8th, brought a special appeal from the Minister of Labor, Gvosdiev, to the Labor Unions in this industry. Notwithstanding these adverse circumstances, everything was ready for the elections on November 25, and the very nature of the Bolsheviki revolt is best revealed by the fact that they seized governmental power in Petrograd by force, less than three weeks before the general elections. They would not have done so if they were certain that they had the country behind them.

Notwithstanding the above-given facts, on the 25th of October, Leon Trotsky, speaking at the Conference of Northern Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, introduced a resolution accusing Kerensky of preventing the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, and demanding that all power be transferred to the Councils, which, among other things, would undertake to convoke the Constituent Assembly on the date set aside, the 12th of December.

Trotsky's resolution was repeated in full in the first proclamation which announced the fall of the Provisional Government and the program of the Bolsheviki. Announcing the transfer of land to the Peasant Committees, the proclamation added that the Committees would take charge of the land until the convocation of the Constituent Assembly. Furthermore, it repeated that one of the main aims of the Bolsheviki was the convocation of the Constituent Assembly.

In accordance with this program outlined by the Bolsheviki in their first proclamations, on the tenth of November, three days after the revolt, the following decree was published by Lenine, as President of the Council of the People's Commissaries:

"In the name of the Government of the Republic, elected by the All-Russian Congress of Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, with the participation of the Peasants' Delegates, the Council of the People's Commissaries decrees:

1. That the elections to the Constituent Assembly shall be held on November 25th, the day set aside for this purpose.

2. All electoral committees, all local organizations, the Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates and the soldiers' organizations at the Front are to bend every effort towards safeguarding the freedom of the voters and fair play at the elections to the Constituent Assembly, which will be held on the appointed date."

There were already then many persons in Russia who doubted the sincerity of the Bolsheviki in regard to the Constituent Assembly, and to these doubting minds the Petrograd "Pravda," the official organ of the Bolsheviki, spoke in its issue of November 11th, pointing to Lenine's decree, that the decree "seems to be definite enough." "It is clear to everybody," said the Bolsheviki organ, "that only an outright liar can, after this, say that the Bolsheviki government is attempt-

ing to kill the Constituent Assembly and does not want to call it on the appointed date because it is afraid of it."

With every step of the elections showing that the country did not accept the Bolsheviki program and voted against it in such numbers that a very strong anti-Bolsheviki majority in the Assembly was certain, the Bolsheviki, notwithstanding their earlier promises to the masses, formulated a new idea which expressed itself in the convocation of the Congress of Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, simultaneously with the Constituent Assembly. The reason for calling the Congress of Councils was explained in a way that recalls the story of the famous Caliph who gave the order to burn all the books in the library of a city just taken by his troops: "These books are useless if they repeat Koran," said the Caliph, "and harmful if they contradict it. In any case these books must be burned."

The Bolsheviki logic in regard to the Constituent Assembly was very much of the same character. They agreed that the Constituent Assembly expresses the feelings of all Russia, of all classes of Russia, but for the Bolsheviki, the holy truth can be expressed only by the representatives of workingmen and soldiers. They called the Congress of Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, and the Constituent Assembly became futile. The Constituent Assembly, from the Bolsheviki point of view, is probably of some use if it repeats the Bolsheviki declarations, but it is certainly harmful if it contradicts them.

The Bolsheviki's treatment of the Constituent Assembly is probably best expressed in the following appeal of one hundred and nine members of the Assembly belonging to the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists. This appeal will forever remain one of the most striking documents in Russia's political history:

"Having been elected by the people, we belong to them. To the people are we responsible and to the people are we accountable for our actions. We therefore shall write to the people so that they may know and judge us. In this first letter we inform the people about our main problems and about the first steps we have taken in Petrograd. The main tasks of the Constituent Assembly will include the

consideration of the speediest possible conclusion of peace, the transfer of the land to the toilers without compensation to the former owners and the safeguarding of the liberties won by the people.

'Peace, Land and Freedom'—these are ordered from us by the people, and this slogan shall be inscribed on our banner. Under this banner will we live and work. Under this banner will we fight all hostile forces. We believe that in this struggle and this work we shall not be alone, we trust that all the toiling masses are with us and backing us, the Army, the peasantry and all the laboring class.

Upon solving these questions we take up the problem of labor, the question of fixed prices on all products, of government control over all industries, and finally, the question of the rights of various peoples which make up the great Russian Republic.

'Peace, Land and Freedom'—this is our slogan for the coming days and weeks. With this slogan we fight and are ready to die rather than yield on this point. We will conquer or die; there is no retreat for us.

And we are apparently facing no small battle for not all want to recognize our right to the supreme power, despite the fact that we were elected by the people. To the will of the people who have elected and sent us out to engage in the great struggle for peace, land and freedom, not all will willingly submit. Our first days in Petrograd proved this. We shall tell you about them.

On the appointed day and hour of the opening of the session of the Constituent Assembly, November 28th, at 2 P. M., the Delegates to the Constituent Assembly who had arrived in Petrograd gathered at the Tavrichesky Palace. The elected representatives of the people beheld innumerable banners and large crowds surrounding the Palace. This was Petrograd greeting the representatives of the people. At the doors of the Palace, the picture changed. There stood armed guards and at the order of the usurpers, the Bolsheviki, they refused to let the Delegates pass into the Tavrichesky Palace. It appeared that in order to enter the building, the Delegates first had to pay respects to the Commissaire, a satellite of Lenine and Trotzky, and there receive special permission. The Delegates would not submit to that; elected by the people and equipped with formal authorization, they had the right to freely enter any public building assigned for their meeting. The Delegates decided to enter the Tavrichesky Palace without asking the new authorities and they succeeded in doing so. On the first day the guards did not dare lift their arms against the people's elected representatives and allowed them to enter the building unmolested.

There was no struggle, no violence, no sacrifices; the Delegates demanded that the guards respect their rights; they demanded to be admitted and the guards yielded.

In the Tavrichesky Palace the Delegates opened their meeting.

V. M. Chernov was elected Chairman. There were, altogether, about 40 Delegates present. They realized that there were not enough present to start the work of the Constituent Assembly. It was decided that it would be advisable to await the arrival of the other Delegates and start the work of the Constituent Assembly only when a sufficient number were present. Those already there decided to meet daily at the Tavrichesky Palace in order to count all the Delegates as they arrived, and on an appointed day to publicly announce the day and hour of the beginning of the activities of the Constituent Assembly.

When the Delegates finished their session and adjourned, the old guards had been dismissed for their submissive attitude towards the Delegates and replaced by armed civilian followers of Lenine and Trotsky. The latter issued an order to disband the Delegates, but there were none to be disbanded.

The following day the government of the Bolsheviki dishonestly and basely slandered the people's representatives in their official announcement which appeared in the "Pravda." The lying newspaper wrote that the representatives of the people had forced their way into the Palace accompanied by junkers and the White Guards of the bourgeoisie, that the representatives wanted to take advantage of their small numbers and had begun the work of the Constituent Assembly. Everyone knows that that is slanderous as regards the representatives of the people. Such lies and slanders were resorted to by the old régime.

The aim of the slanders and the lies is clear. The usurpers do not want the people's representatives to have the supreme power and therefore are preparing to disband the Constituent Assembly.

On the 28th of November, in the evening, having begun to arrest members of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, the Bolsheviki violated the inviolability of the Constituent Assembly. On December 3, a Delegate to the Constituent Assembly, the Socialist-Revolutionist, Filippovsky, who was elected by the army on the Southwestern Front, was arrested.

In accordance with their decision reached on November 28, the Delegates gathered at the Tavrichesky Palace on November 29 and 30. As on the first day, armed soldiers stood guard at the entrance of the Palace and would not let anyone pass. The Delegates, however, insisted and were finally allowed to enter.

On the third day, scenes of brutal violence towards the people's representatives took place at the Palace. Peasants were the unfortunate victims of this violence.

When the Delegates had ended their session and all that remained was the affixing of signatures to the minutes, sailors forced their way into the hall; these were headed by a Bolshevik officer, a former commander of the Fortress of St. Peter and Paul. The commander

demanded that the Delegates disband. In reply, it was stated that the Delegates would disband after they had finished their business. Then at the order of the commander, the sailors took the Delegate. Ilyan, elected by the peasants of the Province of Tambov, by the arm and dragged him to the exit. After Ilyan, the sailors dragged out the peasant Delegate from the Province of Moscow, Bikov; then the sailors approached Maltzev, a peasant Delegate from the Province of Kostroma. He, however, shouted out that he would rather be shot than submit to such violence. His courage appealed to the sailors and they stopped.

Now all the halls in the Tavrichesky Palace are locked and it is impossible to meet there. The Delegates who come to the Tavrichesky Palace cannot even gather in the lobby, for as soon as a group gathers, the armed hirelings of Lenine and Trotzky disperse them. Thus, in former times, behaved the servants of the Tzar and the enemies of the people, policemen and gendarmes!

This is clear to all. The talk of the Bolsheviki regarding the speediest convocation of the Constituent Assembly was false and deceptive. Then the talk was necessary in order to usurp governmental power. They said one thing and thought another; they spoke about the people's rule, but were at the same time striving to get power over the people. They have usurped power by falsehood and bloodshed and they are grasping it convulsively. It is clear to all that a collision between the people's representatives and the usurpers is bound to occur. We are not afraid of this coming collision; when a sufficient number of us will have come together, we shall again go to the Tavrichesky Palace and begin the work of the Constituent Assembly. We will not yield to violence. We alone, however, have not the power to win. We need the support of the whole people and we are waiting for it. We call upon the people to support their representatives in every possible way. We appeal to all to enter into the struggle against the usurpers of the people's will. Otherwise, the people will have no peace, no land, no liberty, no order. Otherwise, the martyred toiling classes are threatened with poverty, oppression and hunger.

Be ready to defend the Constituent Assembly when it calls upon you."

The Constituent Assembly was formally opened on January 18, and after a single day's session was dispersed by bayonets.* During this brief session the Assembly, presided over by V. M. Chernov, adopted the following resolutions:

*The majority in the Constituent Assembly consisted of Socialists-Revolutionists who elected V. M. Chernov President of the Assembly. The Bolsheviki possessed less than one-third of the votes in the Assembly.

Russia's Form of Government

In the name of the peoples who compose the Russian State, the All-Russian Constituent Assembly proclaims the Russian State to be the Russian Democratic Federated Republic, uniting indissolubly into one whole the peoples and territories which are sovereign within the limits prescribed by the Federal Constitution.

Laws Regarding Land Ownership

1. The right to privately own land within the boundaries of the Russian Republic is hereby abolished forever.

2. All the land within the boundaries of the Russian Republic, with all mines, forests and waters, is hereby declared the property of the nation.

3. The Republic has the right to control all the land, with all the mines, forests and waters thereof, through the central and local administration, in accordance with the regulations provided by the present law.

4. The autonomous provinces of the Russian Republic have title to land on the basis of the present law and in accordance with the Federal Constitution.

5. The tasks of the central and local governments as regards the use of land, mines, forests and waters are:

(a) The creation of conditions conducive to the best possible utilization of the country's natural resources and the highest possible development of its productive forces.

(b) The fair distribution of all natural wealth among the people.

6. The rights of individuals and institutions to land, mines, forests and waters are restricted merely to utilization by said individuals and institutions.

7. The use of all land, mines, forests and waters is free to all citizens of the Russian Republic, regardless of nationality or creed. This includes all unions of citizens, also governmental and public institutions.

8. The right to use the land is to be acquired and discontinued on the basis prescribed by this fundamental law.

9. All titles to land at present held by individuals, associations and institutions are abolished in so far as they contradict this law.

10. All land, mines, forests and waters, at present owned by or otherwise in the possession of individuals, associations and institutions, are confiscated without compensation for the loss incurred.

Democratic Peace

In the name of the peoples of the Russian Republic, the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, expressing the firm will of the people to immediately discontinue the war and conclude a just and general peace, appeals to the Allied countries proposing to define jointly the

exact terms of a democratic peace acceptable to all the belligerent nations, in order to present these terms, in behalf of the Allies, to the Governments fighting against the Russian Republic and her Allies.

The Constituent Assembly firmly believes that the attempts of the peoples of Russia to end the disastrous war will meet with a unanimous response on the part of the peoples and Governments of the Allied countries, and that by common efforts a speedy peace will be attained, which will safeguard the well-being and dignity of all the belligerent countries.

The Constituent Assembly resolves to elect from its midst an authorized delegation which will carry on negotiations with the representatives of the Allied countries and which will present the appeal to jointly formulate terms upon which a speedy termination of the war will be possible, as well as for the purpose of carrying out the decisions of the Constituent Assembly regarding the question of peace negotiations with the countries fighting against us.

This delegation, which is to be under the guidance of the Constituent Assembly, is to immediately start fulfilling the duties imposed upon it.

Expressing, in the name of the peoples of Russia, its regret that the negotiations with Germany, which were started without a preliminary agreement with the Allied democracies, have assumed the character of negotiations for a separate peace, the Constituent Assembly, in the name of the peoples of the Russian Democratic Federated Republic, while continuing the armistice, accepts the further carrying on of the negotiations with the countries warring against us in order to work towards a general democratic peace which shall be in accordance with the people's will and protect Russia's interests."*

The country is temporarily under the heels of Prussianism and Bolshevism. The feelings of the responsible leaders and the great masses of the people may be expressed in the slogan: "The Constituent Assembly is dead... Long live the Constituent Assembly!"

Only by means of a Constituent Assembly representing all classes will the great nation be able to come to a stable, democratic government and to a democratic order without which the new Democracy can neither exist nor develop.

*The adoption of this resolution may be explained by the fact that at that time all Russia, worn out by war, expected and believed in the possibility of an immediate, general, democratic peace. The Constituent Assembly had to face the armistice and the parleys with Germany as a *fait accompli*. It must be stated that the Socialists-Revolutionists, who constituted the majority in the Assembly, voted later, at the Congress of the Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates in Moscow, against the ratification of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty.

Russia's feelings at this critical moment in her national existence were best expressed by A. F. Kerensky, whose appearance before the Labor Party Conference in London at the end of June, 1918, stirred the entire world. Speaking before this Conference on June 28th, Kerensky said:

Kerensky's Speech

Yesterday one of the members of the Conference asked the chairman, "What right has Kerensky to be present at the Conference?" I shall answer the question myself. I am here not as a matter of right, but as a matter of duty. It is my duty as a man who knows all that truth which for a long time did not reach the ears of the peoples of western Europe and America. You must know it, because in the great and terrible world-war the most vital interests of the Allied countries are inextricably interwoven; and the fate of a country which bore the burden of a front which was greater in length than all the combined fronts of the other Allies cannot be a matter of indifference for the future of all the Allies, just as for her it cannot be a matter of indifference what is the internal and external situation of the countries which for all these years have shared with her the vicissitudes of fortune.

I did not come here to beg or complain. The Russian people has in times gone by passed through trials like the present, and has always emerged from these trials strengthened and renewed. And now, bending under the merciless onset of Germany, which has skilfully exploited in its interests the heavy legacy of our old régime, Russia, bleeding at every pore, still opposes the enemy's invasion. I bear witness here that the Russian people will never recognize the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which is hurling Russia into the abyss of annihilation.

For three years the Russian army, the Russian soldiers, had to fight an enemy, perfectly equipped and cruelly merciless, without proper arms, sometimes with sticks in their hands, under conditions which no one outside Russia can imagine. It is not to be wondered at that, having repeatedly suffered and borne the blows of the enemy, having in their turn again and again hit him hard, thereby saving the western front, the Russian soldiers for whom our own country, under the Tzar's Government, was a step-mother, were the first among the belligerents to faint in the struggle.

The great Russian revolution instilled new courage into the tired spirit, but could not immediately revive the macerated bodies, and it was a thousand pities that the warning voices coming from Russia were not at the time heeded by the western Allies.

The treacherous calls of peace by Germany were not unmasked

and the mass of the Russian soldiers, incited by genuine fanatics and by German agents, were taken by the false appeals only to feel on their own backs all the bitterness of a German peace. The Ukrainian peasant understood how the Germans secured the independence of small nationalities when German bayonets and chemical vapors were employed to rob him of his last crust of bread, and to reinstate all of the atrocities of the old régime. The Russian peasant, when he returned to his village that was cut off from the fertile provinces of Russia which supplied her with essential provisions of victuals, understood what annexations and contributions mean. The Russian workmen, too, have realized their position when, in their thousands, they were thrown out of work. They understood then the meaning of the dictatorship, not of the proletariat, but over the proletariat, who have lost all the political rights which the revolution gave them and who again live under the police terrorism of the old régime.

The Russian working men, together with other classes of Russians, strongly protest now against the tyranny that again reigns in Russia. Probably most of you have recently seen in the papers the resolution that the Moscow workmen have passed demanding the reinstatement of democratic institutions and the termination of tyranny. As I have said just now, the workmen protest against tyranny.

To my astonishment, some very serious European political men consider the régime as democratic—the régime which has dispersed the Constituent Assembly, abolished freedom of speech, made human life the easy prey of every Red Guardsman, destroyed the liberty of the elections even in the Councils of Workmen, and made an end of all the institutions of self-government that have been elected by universal suffrage. If this method of dealing with the population may be considered democratic, then I may be permitted to ask what may be the essence and the characteristic features of genuine reaction?

The Bolshevists, or by whatever name they themselves now wish to be known, claim that the present state of Russia is a dictatorship of the proletariat, although the most ruthless repression is applied against the Democratic and Socialist parties in Russia and the toiling masses. War has been organized against the helpless population, and every Russian citizen who refuses to recognize this method of government as perfect is declared a counter-revolutionary. That is the position of affairs in Russia. Here you might ask me the perfectly reasonable question how this state of things can be maintained if it is opposed by practically the whole population. This precisely is the question the reply to which reveals the role of that unseverable connection which exists in time of war between the internal state of affairs of a country and the general international situation.

I have no desire to attempt an estimate of the personal motives of certain individuals or to attribute ill-will to causes that have led to great catastrophes—the most imperfect method of explaining historical events. The motives of men are of no importance; it is the actual result of their actions that matters. Now the actual result of the acts of Bolshevism, whose strength mainly lay in the disorganization of the worn-out masses of soldiers, was merely to be the vanguard of the triumphing German imperialism.

At the present time it is equally advantageous to German imperialism to create strong reactionary powers in the rich provinces which can supply raw material and fuel, and to favor decomposition and anarchy in the very heart of the country. To reach this aim, Germany must paralyze the Russian centre. That is the true inwardness of the connection between the interior affairs of Russia and this or that result of the world-war. Thus the interests and the fate of the Russian people receive a special significance and value for the whole world, and more particularly for the interests of the world's democracy.

The Russian people alone may not be able to overcome the ghoul of international reaction that is holding them by the throat. Perhaps, abandoned by all, Russia will perish from want of blood. But she will never of her own will submit to the humiliation and shameful treason of Brest-Litovsk. It is for you, the oldest and most mature democracies of the whole world, to settle the question whether it is or is not possible to remain a calm spectator of that unheard-of tragedy.

I have finished. It may be that to-morrow calumny and slander will begin its work again, and attempts will be made to deny the truth of all I have said to-day. But, comrades, I would never have crossed thousands of miles of the Arctic Ocean to tell to the Western land and America a single word that I did not profoundly know to be the absolute truth."

After the terrible lesson, the constructive forces in the young country are growing stronger daily, and there are indications that the time is not distant when Russia will begin to see the light of a new and brighter life. The assassination of Count Von Mirbach, the German ambassador, at Moscow, and of Field Marshal von Eichhorn, German Commander in the Ukraine, by the Socialists-Revolutionists of the left; the Czecho-Slovak movement, now in control of the Siberian railroad and almost of the entire Volga region; the strong movement among the Russian peasantry and proletariat for a speedy convocation of the Constituent Assembly, a move-

ment which resulted in great strikes in Petrograd, Moscow, Nizhni Novgorod, and many other provincial cities; the organization of an autonomous Siberian Government and of the Government of the North, built on coalition principles, with a definite orientation towards the Allies; the Allied program for immediate general and military help to Russia enthusiastically accepted by the Russian democracy,—all these are signs that Russia is coming back. Sooner or later the period of disorganization known in the life of every country that has emerged from tyranny to free democratic development will pass, and the world will see the realization of President Wilson's statement in which the President greeted the new Russian Democracy as a "fit partner for a League of Honor."

Alphabetical Index

PAGE

Adshemov, M. S.....149
Agrarian problem..305–326, 433, 525
Aladin, A. F.....145
Alexander I 24
Alexander II...32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 46 52, 55, 56, 58, 69, 191, 193, 197
Alexander III.....55, 69, 70, 73, 74
Alexeiev, Gen. 481
Alexinsky, G. A.....153, 160
All-Russian Cossacks' Congress.409 517
All-Russian Congress of Officers' Delegates 327, 339–345
All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Delegates..305–326, 396, 403
All-Russian Council of Peasants' Delegates 501, 503, 504
All-Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates 279, 319, 350, 355, 387, 388, 396, 405 411, 427
All-Russian Congress of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates...406, 407, 417, 418, 428 429, 431
Allies, relations with.....277, 278
American Extraordinary Mission 356, 377–390
American Federation of Labor..356 357, 358
"Annals of the Fatherland"..... 29
Appeal to Allies.....277, 278
Appeal to Central Powers.....278
Appeal to Neutrals.....278
Appeal to the Poles.....251
Arkhangelsky, V. G.....155
Armenians 76
Army....296, 299, 313, 315, 321, 344, 345, 415, 416, 417, 422, 423, 434, 438 439, 442, 446–448, 479, 482–485, 512 (see also Convention of Delegates from the Front)
Army, appeal to...280, 281, 282, 406 418–421, 429–431
Army command 410
Army officers—see All-Russian Congress of Officers' Delegates
Arnoldi, S. S.....186
Avksentiev, N. D. 80, 160, 314, 326, 498
Axelrod, P.....52, 78, 218

Bakhmeteff, Prof. Boris A...391–404
Bakunin..29, 41, 42, 48, 149, 171–179
Balmashev, Stepan....80, 81, 82, 83 85, 89
Batkin.....300, 301, 302, 342
Baturov, M. V.....155
Beilis case 157

PAGE

Belgium 358, 359
Belousov, G. I.....153
Beltov, N. (see Plekhanov).....318
Berezin, M. I.....152
Bernatsky 486
Bertron, Samuel R.....377
Bestuzshev-Riumin 22, 26
Bielinsky, Vissarion.....29, 30, 31
Bitzenko 135
Black Hundreds 116
"Black Repartition" 55
Black Sea Fleet...300, 301, 302, 342
Bloody Sunday.....94, 97
Bogdanovich 80, 81
Bogolepov 80, 81, 85
Bolsheviki ...220, 223, 256, 257, 282 302, 349–354, 367, 411, 419, 423, 424 426–429, 431, 482, 494–527
Bondarev, S. I.....145
Borodin, N. A.....142, 391
Boublikov, A. A....231, 435, 463, 464
Bourtzeff, Vladimir 159, 498
Bramson, L. M.....145
Breshkovskaya, Ekaterina Constantinovna Breshko- 201–215 306–308, 435, 464–466
Brest-Litovsk, Peace Treaty of.499 500
De Brucker, Louis.....358
Bronstein—see Trotsky
Brusilov, Gen. 421, 483
Bulat, A. A.....152
Bulgakov, S. N.....149
Bunakov, I. I.....160, 318–320, 326
"Buturlin Committee".....30, 33

Caucasus 77
Cadets.....136, 140, 141 (see also Constitutional-Democratic Party)
Caucasus 516
Chasnikov 120, 121
Chelnokov, M. V.....149
Chernov, V. M..80, 309–315, 346, 434 523, 524
Chernosvitov, C. C.....149
Chernyshevsky, N..38, 39, 63, 64, 232
"Chorny Peredel" 217
Circle of Tchaykovsky—see Tchaykovsky Circle
Coalition Cabinet..350, 353, 354, 486
Congress of Slavs.....172
Congress of Officers' Delegates..340
Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates 332, 333, 334
Constantine 24, 25
Constituent Assembly..245, 249, 310

Alphabetical Index—*Continued*

PAGE

325, 348, 349, 355, 398, 399, 423, 424 432, 433, 486, 488–492, 499, 501, 502 504–508, 511–512, 513, 514, 515, 516 517, 518–527

Constitutional-Democratic Party 114, 136, 142–144, 149–151, 434 510, 523

"Contemporary" 29

Convention of Delegates from the Front 283–304, 422

Cossacks 235, 429, 516, 518
(see also All-Russian Cossacks' Congress)

Council, Imperial 136

Council of Peasants' Delegates..115 399, 510

Councils of Soldiers' Delegates (1905) 115

Council of Workmen's Delegates.399

Council of Workmen's Delegates. (Moscow) 124

Council of Workmen's Delegates (St. Petersburg.)115–117, 122, 123

Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates..242, 274–282, 291 333–335, 371, 494, 510
(see also All-Russian Council. Petrograd Council and Moscow Council)

Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers', Peasants' and Cossacks' Delegates 405

Crane, Charles P.....377

Crimean War 31, 32

Decembrists 19–27, 141

Declaration of Soldiers' Rights 421, 422, 423

Degaiev 72

Dellanov 72

Democratic Conference 486

Department of Labor 268

Deutsch, Leo.49, 52, 78, 160, 217, 218

Dolgopolov, N. I.....155

Dolgorukov, Prince P. D.76, 113, 142 149, 499

Dostoievsky, F. M.....30, 33

Droutskoy, Prince S. A.....367, 368

Duma.114, 115, 136, 141, 159, 227, 242 248, 327–330, 332, 333, 335, 337, 341 396, 398, 409, 410

Duma, First 136–148, 158

Duma, Second 140, 141, 149–156

Duncan, James 356, 377, 387

Durnovo 115

Dzhaparidze, S. D.....147

Dzhaparidze, A. L.....153

PAGE

Executive Committee, Congress of Peasants' Delegates...325–326

Executive Committee, Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates 486

Ezerskaya 135

Fedorov, M. P.....149

Fialka 135

Figner, Vera 71, 72, 314

Fighting Organization of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists 80, 82, 86

Finances 443–446

Finland....76, 117, 157, 251, 414, 415 440

Fiodorov, M. F.....113

Francis, David R..254, 342, 380, 381

Gapon, Father 97–105

Georgians 76

Gershuni.....81, 86–90, 92, 93

Gertzenstein, Prof. M. J.....142

Gessen, I. V.....150

Gessen, V. M.....150

Glennon, Admiral James H.....377

Godniev, I. V.....346

Gogol 516

Golovin, F. A.....149, 434

Gomartelli, I. G.....147

Goremykin 136, 138, 140

Gompers, Samuel 356

Gorky, Maxim 508, 509

Gotz, M. R.....232

Government of National Safety.417

Grandmother of the Revolution (see Breshko-Breshkovskaya)

Gredeskul, Prof. N. A.....142

Grimm, Robert 414

Grinevitsky, N. I..... 57

"Group for the Emancipation of Labor".....52, 78, 218

Gubariev, I. A.....153

Guchkov, A. I..122, 242, 274, 283–287 292–297, 327–329, 422, 458–461

Gumenko, I. A.....153

Gushchin, Lieut.-Col.....339, 340

Gvozdiev 486, 519

Hayden, Count P. A.....113

Henderson, Arthur.356, 371–376, 389

Hertzen, A.....32, 34, 38, 172

Hertzen's Circle.....28, 33, 35

Holy League 197

Ignatiev 70

Intelligentsia 80, 202, 507, 508

International Socialist Conference 276, 364, 415

International Union of the Social-Democracy 176

Alphabetical Index—*Continued*

PAGE

"Iscra" 108, 219, 220
Iureniev, P. P.....150
Izmailovich 135
"Izvestia" 243

Jacobson, V. R.....145
Jakubovich, Col. 320, 321, 322
Jewish question...157, 158, 253, 254
June 3rd, election law of.....141

Kakhovsky 26
Kaledine, Gen. 435, 450–454
Kaliaiev, Ivan 89, 106–112
Kamenev 352, 353, 354
Kandelak, C. E.....154
Karakozov, Dmitri 38
Kareyev, Prof. N. I.....142
Karpovich, Peter.....81, 84, 85
Kartashev 434, 486
Katkoff 45
Kazan Cathedral, Demonstration before 50, 85
Kedrin, E. I.....142
Kelnitz 46
Kerensky, A. F.....80, 210, 211, 242 287–290, 310, 315–317, 335, 342, 343 346, 396, 405, 410–415, 417, 421, 425 429–432, 435–443, 472–476, 478–484 486, 489–494, 519
Khrustaliov-Nosar 115, 122
Khvorostukhin, I. P.....156
Kibaltich 58
"Kiev Socialist Union"..... 82
Kinthal Conference 332
Kishineff pogrom 77
Kishkin 486
Kizevetter, A. A.....150
Kokoshkin, Prof. F. F...76, 142, 499 519
Kokovtzev 157
Kolokolnikov, Father K. A.....156
Konopliannikova, Zinaida ..125–134
Konovalov, A. I....242, 256–271, 346 486
Konshin, N. J.....154
Kornilov, Gen..416, 417, 435, 446–450 475–485
Korolenko 516
Kotlarevsky, Prof. S. A.....142
Kovalevsky, Prof. Maxim M.....145
Kravchinsky, Serghei 53
Kronstadt sailors' mutiny.....116
Kropotkin, Prince Dmitri 53
Kropotkin, Prince Peter..34, 37, 42 45, 59, 159, 188, 190–200, 435 466–468
Kutler, N. N.....150

PAGE

Kuzmin-Karavayev, Gen. V. D...145 150

Labor, Department of.....268
Labor Group.....140, 145–147, 152
Labriola, Arturo...356, 361–364, 389
"Land and Freedom".....49, 51, 54 60, 217
Land Commissions 324, 445
Lavrov, Peter L.....46, 48, 180–186
Lednitsky, A. R.....142, 251
Lenine, Nicholas...159, 411, 413, 414 431, 490, 491, 494, 495, 498, 509, 510
Levin, S. C.....143
"Liberation" 76
Liverevsky 486
Lomonosoff, Prof. J. V.....391
Lopatin, H. A.....61–68
Loris-Melikoff 55, 56, 69, 70
Lujenovsky 125, 134, 135
Lvov, Prince G. E..113, 136, 143, 227 229, 242, 346, 424, 425, 431, 519
Lvov, N. N.....143
Lvov, V. N.....242, 346, 482

Maklakov, V. A.....150, 334–339 409
Maliantovich 486
Malinovsky, Roman 497, 498
Manifesto of October 17th.....115
De Mann, Henry.....358
Manuilov, Prof. A. A.....242, 346
March Revolution, 1917.....227–230
Martiushin, G. A.....326
Maslov, S. S.....305, 306, 486
McCormick, Cyrus K.....377
Mensheviki-Internationalists ...354
Mezentzov, General 53
Michael Alexandrovich, Grand Duke 246, 247
Middle Class.....327–330, 332–339
Mien, General 126–128
Mikhailov 58
Mikhailichenko, M. I.....148
Mikhailovsky, N. C..... 79
Military-Revolutionary Committee 494
Miliukov, Prof. Paul N...76, 112, 126 242, 245–247, 254, 272–274, 329–334 409, 422, 435
Ministry of Trade and Industry.267
Monarchic System 495
Morozoff, Nicholay 47
Moscow Council of Soldiers' Delegates 369
Moscow Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates ..374, 375
Moscow, revolutionary days.234, 235

Alphabetical Index—*Continued*

PAGE

Mott, John R.....377
Municipalities and Zemstvos Union 295
Muraviov 180
Muraviov, Mikhail 20, 26
Muraviov, Nikita 23
Muromtsev, Prof. S. A..136, 139, 158

Nabokov, V. D.....76, 136, 143
Nagikh, I. N.....153
Nalivkin, V. P.....153
"Narodnichestvo" 41
"Narodniki".....49, 53, 55
National Conference in Moscow.200 434–475, 486
National Militia 245
National problem 157
Navy, appeal to 429–431
Nekrasov, N. V.....242, 443–446
Nicholas Nicholaevitch, Duke...132
Nicholas I.....24–30, 32, 137
Nicholas II....75, 76, 85, 95, 96, 112 115, 136–138, 141, 158, 159, 227, 246
Nikitine 486
Nobility 158
Nogin 367
"Northern Society".....22, 24, 25
Novgorodtsev, Prof. P. I.....143
Novitsky, V. J.....391
"Novoye Vremia" 123

Obolensky, Prince 86
Octobrists 122
Offensive 405–423
Officers of Moscow Garrison....368
Oldenburg 434
Omelchenko, E. I.....391
Onipko, F. M.....146
Order No. 1.....421
Ostrogorsky, M. J.....143

Party of Democratic Reforms...145
Peasantry .....157, 305–326, 501 (see also All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Delegates)
Peasants' Union 113, 122
Pereleshin, D. A.....151
Pereverses, P. N.....346
Perovskaya, Sophia 58–60
Peshekhonov, V. A.....315, 346
Pestel, Pavel.....20, 22, 24, 26
Petrashevsky Circle 30
Petrazhitsky, Prof. L. J.....143
Petrograd, revolutionary days..223
Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates ..272–275 278, 283, 340, 341, 346, 349, 350, 364 365, 421, 423

PAGE

Petrov, Father G.....151
Petrunkevitch, I. I...54, 76, 113, 136 137, 143
Petrunkevitch, M. L.....144
Pianykh, I. E.....152
Plehve—see Von Plehve
Plekhanov, G. V....50–52, 55, 78, 159 160, 216–218, 220–223, 257, 297–300 435, 468–474
Pobiedonostzev.69, 70, 73–77, 95, 115
"Pogroms" 77, 115
Pogroms—see Kishineff pogrom
Pokatilov 89
Poland 116, 158, 251–253
Political parties, Russian...510–512
Political strike (1914).....158–159
Polivanov 89
Popov, M. K.....152
"Potiomkin" 113
"Povolshskoye Zemliachestvo" . 82
"Pravda" 520
Preliminary Parliament....489–494 507
Prokopovich, S. N.....486
Proletariat 77, 78, 159
Provisional Government .....227 229, 242–249, 251–274, 277, 291, 310 320–322, 328–330, 332–339, 346, 348 349, 353, 354, 391–392, 394–396, 399 –401, 403, 405, 413, 417–419, 422–426, 428–430, 432–433, 437–441, 443, 444 –446, 475–494

Rada, Central Ukrainian...425, 426
Ramishvilli, I. I.....148
Reaction, period of.....158
Reform Movement 34
Repressions 54
Restrictions, religious, national and political 72
Revolution of 1905.114–123, 496–497
Revolution, March, 1917....227–237
"Revolutionary Russia" 89
Riga, fall of.....475
Risakov 58
Rodichev, F. I..76, 113, 136, 151, 229
Rodzianko, M. V.....327, 337, 339
Romanov, I. R. 154
Roop, V., Lieut.-Gen.....391
Root, Elihu...337, 381, 382, 384, 386 –390
Rosenblum 365–367
"Roublevoye Obshchestvo" 62
Roudnev, V. V.....375
Russell, Charles Edward...356, 377 388

Alphabetical Index—*Continued*

PAGE

Russian Extraordinary Mission 391–404
Russo-Japanese War..... 94
Rylciev 26

Sadirin, P. A.....144
Salaskin 486
Saveliev, I. F.....148
Savinkov, Boris V.....80, 91, 448
Sazonov 81, 89, 95, 96
Schepkin, Prof. E. N.....144
Schkolnik, Maria 135
Schmidt, Lieut. Peter P. ...118, 119 120, 121
Scott, Hugh L., Major-Gen.....277
Sebastopol Garrison 342
Second Cabinet of Provisional Government.....346, 348, 349, 351
Sedelnikov, T. I.....147
Semionovsky Guards....21, 124, 126
Serfdom, abolition of.....32–34
Serghei Alexandrovich, Grand Duke 80, 106
Shakhovskoy, Prince D. I....76, 113 144, 346
Shcheglovitov 136, 161
Shershenevitch, G. F.....144
Shevchenko 516
Shidlovsky, S. I.....341, 409
Shingariev, A. I...151, 242, 314, 346 499
Shirsky, P. S.....156
Shpagin, A. A.....154
Shulgin, V. V. 409
Shuvalov, I. E.....38, 148
Siberia 516
Sirtlanov, Sh. Sh.....151
Sitin, J. M.....153
Skobelev, M. I.....275, 276, 346, 349
Smirnov, Dr. 317, 318
Socialist Conference—(see International Socialist Conference)
"Social-Democrat" 159
Social-Democratic Party..52, 78, 112 122, 140, 141, 147, 148, 153–155, 176 218, 223, 332, 494, 506, 507, 510
Social-Democratic Workingmen's Party 78
Socialist Manifesto 160–166
Socialists-Revolutionists. .80–82, 86 112, 122, 128, 134, 140, 155, 156, 354 504–506, 510, 521
Socialism, scientific 257
Socialist Union, Kiev..... 82
Society of United Slavs..... 22
Solomka, I. E.....147
Soudeykin 66, 67, 72
Soukine, J. J.....391

PAGE

Southern Society 22, 24
Spiridonova, Maria 125, 134
Stachovich, A. A.....151
Stachovich, M. A.....151
Stankevitch's Circle 28, 29
Stefanovich 49, 217
Steklov, U. M.....340, 341
Stepniak 52
Stishinsky 126
Stolypin.....126, 140, 141, 157
Struve, P. B.....151
Sukhomlinov 295, 430
Sviatopolk-Mirsky, Prince 95
Synod, Holy 140
Sypiagin 80–82

Tchaykovsky, Nicholay 44, 46
Tchaykovsky's Circle..42, 43, 45, 46 49, 59, 60, 194
Terestchenko, M. I.242, 346, 384–386 425, 486
Teslenko, N. V.....151
Thomas, Albert....314, 356, 364–371 389
Tikhomirov 218
Tolstoy, Count Dmitri..38, 40, 70, 72
Tolstoy, Leo 76, 77, 158
Trepoff 38, 51, 106, 115, 116
Tretiakov 486
Trotsky, Leon.....122, 349–351, 422 490, 494–497, 520
Trubetskoy, Prince Serghei.....113
Tscheidze, N. S....275, 349, 387, 388 435, 454–458
Tseretelli, I. G.154, 278–282, 290, 291 318, 346, 351, 352, 425, 435, 461–462
Tseretelli, S. N.....148
Turgeniev, I.....30, 32

Ukraine 414, 423–426, 514–516
Ukrainian Rada 425, 514, 515
Ulyanov—see Lenine
"Union of Liberation"..... 76
"Union of Russian Social-Democrats" 220
"Union of Salvation"..... 20
Union of Unions.....113
"Union of Welfare"..... 20
"Universal" (see Ukraine and Ukrainian Rada)
Universities 85
Urusov, Prince S. D.....145
Uspensky, V. P.....152
Uvarov 29
Vandervelde, Emile....342, 356, 358 –361, 389
Verderevski, Admiral 486

Alphabetical Index—*Continued*

PAGE

Verkhovsky, Gen. 486
Viborg Manifesto 138, 140
"Viestnik Narodnoy Voli".....218
Viliuysk Prison 232
Vinaver, M. M.....136, 144
Vladimir, Grand Duke.....103
Volgin, A. 220
(see Plekhanov)
Volkenstein, L. A..... 72
Von Pahlen 40
Von Plehve 76, 77, 80, 81, 95
Voronov, B. 160

"Will of the People"..55, 60, 72, 217
Wilson, Woodrow..226, 377–379, 382 384, 392, 435
Witte, Count Serghei....78, 115–117
Woman Suffrage 244

PAGE

Yakushkin, V. E.....144
Yanushkevitch, Gen. 420
Yollos, G. B.....144
"Zaria" 220
Zarudny 481, 519
Zasulich, Vera.....51–52, 78, 217
Zemstvos...51, 53, 54, 72, 75, 76, 95 96, 97, 113, 433
Zemstvos' Congress.95, 113, 114, 121
Zheliabov, A. I.....56, 58
Zhordania, N. N.....148
Zimmerwald 332
Zinoviev 431
Zirianov, P. A.....155
Zurabov, A. G.....155
Zurich, Revolutionary colony in 46, 48